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SIGNIFICANCE OF CORNWALLIS'S JUDICIAL REFORMS IN BENGAL PRESIDENCY

CHITTARANJAN SINHA

The transition from justice dictated by individual discretion (under the preceding Moghul rule) to that governed by the 'rule of law', was the revolutionary achievement of the British Indian Administration. This process was initiated by Lord Cornwallis whose Governor-Generalship of Bengal Presidency (1786-93) also marks the beginning of the modern Indian judiciary which, in its ultimate analysis, emerged as a synthesis of progressive Western ideas with a legal and judicial structure suited to Indian conditions.

In reorganising the judicial administration of Bengal on liberal Whig concepts, Cornwallis made a sharp break with the preceding Administration of Warren Hastings, which had kept justice entirely subordinated to revenue considerations. But the significance of Cornwallis's judicial reforms does not end at that. Cornwallis's ideas and the structure raised on them, operated to create a very strong administrative tradition which held a firm grip over the succeeding Administrations in Bengal for the next thirty-four years, until the arrival of Bentinck in 1828. This worked both ways—positively, it created an urge to fill up the gaps left between Cornwallis's ideals and his actual achievements, and, negatively, the Cornwallis tradition tended to prevent practical judicial reforms involving a sacrifice of the Master's doctrines. To this interesting study the present paper is devoted.

Until 1793, the judicial policy of the Company's Government in Bengal was guided solely by expediency and tradition. The tradition was that of the Moghul rule which entrusted the management of Civil justice to those in charge of collection of revenue:* and the expediency—that of discharging the obligations of Diwani with as little spending from the profits as possible. This is clearly discernible in the Company's initial administrative arrangements made by Warren Hastings in 1772. Under it the Civil judiciary in the mofussil was consigned to the District Collectors of revenue while the chief Civil Court, the Sadr Diwani Adalat was put under the immediate control of the Governor-General-in-Council, the Chief Executive.

With few interruptions, marked by Hastings's administrative experiments the practice of keeping the revenue and judicial functions united continued for the coming twenty years. In 1780, separate Civil Judges, called Superintendents of Diwani Adalats, were posted to the existing Districts. Even then all disputes concerning revenue were left to the exclusive cognizance of the Collectors in their own Courts, styled *Mal Adalats*. But the separate Judgeships were soon abolished in 1787, under instruction from the Court of Directors,¹ when the Collectors reverted to their full judicial authority. The District Magistracy was also simultaneously vested with the Collector. He thus became the Judge, Magistrate and Collector, all in one. This "single officer" plan had been initially advocated by Sir John Shore and Stuart² as being in conformity with the tradition of Indians looking

* Under the Moghul system the Diwan used to be the Provincial head of both Revenue and Civil justice.

¹ Despatch from Court of Directors to Bengal, 12th April 1786.

² *Ibid.*

to a single despotic authority for the redress of all their grievances and had found favour with the Directors for the economy involved.

So far the outlook of the Company had been purely commercial. The administration of Civil justice had been undertaken in 1772, primarily because it was a part of the responsibility of the Diwani. Also, a better administration of justice was essential to the prosperity of the people on which a good collection largely depended. The entire administrative policy of the Company's Government until 1793 was determined more by this attitude than by a sense of responsibility of the Government towards its subjects.

Hastings's successor Cornwallis analysed this situation correctly: "Upon our first obtaining possession of the Country, it was expected to be rendered as immediately advantageous as possible. . . . In the Civil branch of Government all early arrangements were framed chiefly with a view to more collection of revenue."³ There was nothing like a judicial department until 1793. All Regulations respecting the administration of justice had been passed in the revenue department, although, as Cornwallis rightly observed, no two departments could be more unconnected than finance and judicial.⁴

The judicial functions annexed to the Collectors in 1772 and after, have been noticed above. All salaries and allowances were, however, attached to the office of Collectors only. They were paid nothing for their services as Judges and Magistrates, which were considered appendages to their fiscal office. They were also allowed a percentage on the amount of revenue collected, as commission. Under such circumstances those officers were bound to give first importance to their revenue duties. No publicity was given either to his exertions or to his commissions in the judicial capacity, but the least failure to realise revenue was immediately noticed, laid him under the displeasure of his superiors, involved him in a loss of commission and sometimes caused his dismissal from services. The zamindars (landlords) took advantage of this situation. They deterred the Collectors from paying heed to the complaints of the raiyats (tenants) against the zamindars for undue exaction, by alarming them with the prospect of failure of revenue. The raiyats also fully realised this and hence looked upon the Collectors as parties against them from whom they could expect no redress. The feeling of justice being subordinated to revenue had indeed gone so deep that as late as 1782 the zamindars were found insisting upon their exemption from prosecution in the Courts by their Creditors, on the plea that they were under contract to collect revenue for the Government.

Though Cornwallis (who assumed office in 1786) was obliged to continue the preceding system under an instruction from the Court of Directors,^{4a} he was set upon making a change in the existing system. But due to his involvement in the Mysore war and certain other problems, he was unable to implement his ideas until 1793. By introducing liberal Whig concepts Cornwallis was instrumental in affecting a revolution in the Company's administrative policy in Bengal Presidency. He started from the basic principle that the Government which collected revenue was obliged to secure full protection to the rights and properties of the subjects against the invasion of individuals or the Government. From his Whig following Cornwallis had imbibed a firm faith in the doctrine of "separation of powers" and in the desirability of reducing the Executive role of the

³ Minute of Cornwallis, 8th February 1793, para 27, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 11th February 1793, No. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

^{4a} Letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal, 12th October, 1786, para 7.

Government to the minimum. To him power in the hands of the Government and its officers seemed bound to be abused. Hence he favoured the introduction of a new order in which things would be regulated not by the personal discretion of individuals but by the impersonal agency of laws.⁵

The impact of these ideas is clearly visible in the vastly transformed administrative machinery set up by Cornwallis in 1793. A comprehensive set of regulations was framed which sought to define the powers of the Government on the one hand and the rights of the individual on the other. This was the "rule of law" to which all including the officers and the Government were to be subject alike,⁶ and which was to be enforced by a separate organ of the Administration—the judiciary. This emergence of the judiciary in the role of the protector of the "rule of law" was henceforth to become the fundamental philosophy behind the judicial administration in India for all time to come.

The doctrine of "Separation of Powers" found fulfilment in the complete severance of the judicial authority from the Executive officer of the District—the Collector, and its delegation of the District Judge, a post simultaneously created. The Collector no longer remained the "single despotic authority to whom people could look for the redress of all their grievances."⁷ In fact with the transfer of the entire Civil judicial authority along with the Magistracy to the Judges (under Regulation II of 1793), the Collectors were reduced to the position of what their designation implied and no more. Even revenue disputes which had traditionally been under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Collectors (even during the period 1780-87, when separate Civil Judges had been functioning in the Districts) were transferred to the District Judges. The justification offered was:

"The revenue officers must be deprived of all judicial powers. All financial claims of the public, when disputed, must be subjected to the Courts of justice, who from their official situation and the nature of their trust shall not only be uninterested in the result of their decision, but be bound [by oath] to decide impartially between the Government and the Proprietors, and between the Proprietors and the Tenants."⁸

Another salient feature of Cornwallis's scheme of 1793 was the exclusion of Indians from all situations of trust and responsibility. This followed from his firm conviction that Indians from their character and bearing were incapable of holding any position of trust and responsibility. He observed: "I conceive that all Regulations for the reform of that department [judicial] would be useless and nugatory whilst the execution of them depends upon any Indian whatsoever..."⁹

Only on account of the practical difficulty of providing enough European Judges, Indians were allowed a place in the judiciary, and that, at the lowest level as Munsiffs. These Indian Judges (whose supply was unrestricted), were to be spread out all over the country and were thus expected to bring justice to the doors of every person. But their jurisdiction was confined to petty disputes, only up to Rs. 50/- in amount or value.¹⁰

⁵ Fifth Report of the Select Committee of House of Commons, Parl. Branch Collections, 1812, vol. 56, p. 18.

⁶ Preamble to Regulation III of 1793.

⁷ See above pp. 1-2.

⁸ Preamble to Regulation II of 1793.

⁹ Letter from Bengal to Court of Directors, 2nd August 1789.

¹⁰ Regulation 40 of 1793.

The Cornwallis era is a landmark not only for working revolutionary changes in the existing pattern of administration. It is equally significant for the tall shadow it projected upon the succeeding Governments for a considerable number of years. It had a dual influence. Positively, it created an urge to bring the administrative structure closer to the ideals set forth by the master; and negatively, for the next thirty-four years, the Cornwallis tradition operated to block proposals for reforms involving any major deviation from the system of 1793. An examination of the subsequent administrative history of Bengal Presidency make these tendencies apparent.

In spite of his faith in the principle of "Separation of Powers", Cornwallis had been able to implement that theory only at the District level. Above, the Sadr Diwani and Nizamat Adalats, the highest Civil and Criminal Courts, had been left, as before, to be constituted by the Governor-General-in-Council, the Chief Executive; below, in the selection of Munsiffs, a preference was laid down for zamindars, (indirectly agents for collecting revenue on behalf of the Government), and the petty revenue officers in the mofussil.¹¹ Such discrepancies between Cornwallis's profession of "Separation of Powers" and his judicial arrangements of 1793, were sought to be removed by Wellesley. To Dundas, (President Board of Control), he wrote that a few things were still wanting to secure the noble objects contemplated by Cornwallis, the most important of them being the institution of a Court of Sadr Diwani and Nizamat Adalat distinct from the Council.¹² By Regulation 49 of 1803 Wellesley withdrew the existing preference in favour of zamindars and revenue officers in the recruitment of Munsiffs, and in 1805,¹³ he resolved to constitute the Sadr Diwani Adalat by three separate whole time Judges. The latter reform had, however, to be retarded under the orders of the Directors¹⁴ who insisted upon at least one member of the Council sitting in the Courts as the Chief Justice. But Wellesley's successor, Minto, equally convinced of the separation, took up the cause with the same zeal. A complete separation between the Courts and the Supreme Council was finally achieved by him in 1811.

From "Separation of Powers" Minto also derived the idea of "Separation of Services", as its logical corollary, which he sought to implement by making the judicial services distinct from the revenue and other branches. So far the District Judges used to be appointed indiscriminately without consideration for previous experience of judicial business. As a result, officers who had all along served in the revenue, political, military or even postal departments, were suddenly called upon the function as District Judges.¹⁵ Since such officers were unlikely to be efficient Judges, Minto decided that after completing their initial training at the Fort William College, the junior civil servants were to make a choice between the judicial, revenue, or other services. Once an officer made his choice he was to stay and receive promotion in that department alone.¹⁶ Minto remained fairly rigid on this reform. Thus, when his close associate, John Lumsden made

¹¹ By Regulation 40 of 1793.

¹² Wellesley to Dundas, 5th March 1800, *Wellesley Papers*, (ed.) M. Martin, vol. II, p. 23.

¹³ Resolution of Governor-General-in-Council, 25th July 1805, Bengal Civil Judl. Consultations, 25th July 1805, No. 14.

¹⁴ Judicial Despatch from Court of Directors to Bengal, 7th June 1807.

¹⁵ The selection of John Becher in 1797, and that of John Battaye in 1799, are typical examples of officers without any judicial experience being appointed District Judges. Dodwell and Miles, *List of Bengal Civil Servants*.

¹⁶ Civil Judicial Consultations, 17th December 1811, No. 2.

a personal request to him for transferring T. Richardson from the Commerce department (in which the latter had a distinguished record of service) to the judicial, Minto refused compliance stating that such a transfer would be "against the general principle of separation of revenue and judicial authorities which I think too important to admit of any exceptions."¹⁷

The absolute faith held by a succession of Governor-Generals (from Shore to Minto) in Cornwallis's ideals, served to create an administrative tradition in Bengal which operated negatively to block all such attempts at practical judicial reform which involved a deviation from the Master's doctrines. The tendency is most apparent in the progress of two of the basic reforms recommended for relieving the overburdened District Judges. The first was the proposal for extending the Indian agency, conceded by all to be the only solution of the problems of increasing arrears and delays in justice. Though Cornwallis's scheme of keeping the association of Indians on a very low scale could not be rigidly maintained because the agency of Indians, unlike that of the Europeans, could be expanded to any degree* (demanded by the pressure of business) without major financial embarrassment, still the prejudice of the "founder" definitely served to slow down the extension of that side of judiciary. Until 1821, the jurisdiction of Munsiffs extended to cases up to Rs. 64/- only (an insignificant increase over the limit of Rs. 50/- fixed by Cornwallis), and that of Sadr Amins (a post created in 1803) up to Rs. 150/-. In 1821, on account of the shortage of European officers, the Government allowed the extension of the power of Munsiffs to cases up to Rs. 150/- and that of a few selected Sadr Amins to Rs. 500/- (Regulation 2 of 1821). But when in 1824, the Directors suggested the transfer of the entire original jurisdiction to the Indian Judges,¹⁸ the Government of Amherst and the Sadr Diwani Adalat, both opposed the proposal on the ground of such a sweeping change being beyond the scheme contemplated by Cornwallis.¹⁹

The second proposal to reduce the load on the hard-pressed District Judges by the transfer of Magistracy and revenue cases to the Collectors had an even more sluggish course. The inconveniences of the union of Magistracy with Judgeship had been repeatedly pointed out by the judicial officers of Bengal.²⁰ The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of House of Commons emphasised its impracticability in 1812²¹, and the Governor-General Lord Hastings admitted its incompatibility in 1815²². With their Judicial Despatch of 9th November 1814, the Directors sent out a concrete proposal to Bengal for relieving the District Judges by transferring all revenue suits, along with Magisterial functions to the Collectors. The Directors even made their desire imperative on this issue in 1816²³. But Lord Hastings's Government kept averse to this measure because it involved a sacrifice of the principle laid down by Cornwallis.

¹⁷ Minto to Lumsden, 28th July 1808, Minto MSS. Collections, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

* Thus a superior class of Indian Judges called Sadr Amins was installed by Wellesley in 1803 (by Regulation 49 of 1805) in order to provide much needed relief to the European judicial officers of the District.

¹⁸ Judicial Despatch to Bengal, 23rd July 1824, para 10.

¹⁹ Judicial Letter from Bengal to Court of Directors, 5th October 1826, paras 7-9.

²⁰ Such officers were, for instance, J. Tufton, Judge-Magistrate of Zila Behar (modern Gaya), in 1801; T. Ernst, Judge of Circuit for Banaras Division in 1810; and Henry Shakespear, the Judge-Magistrate of Jessore in 1812.

²¹ 5th Report, 1812, Parliamentary Branch Collections, 1812, vol. 56, p. 69.

²² Minute of Lord Hastings, 21st September 1815, Papers relating to the judicial system of Bengal, India office Register (71), 197.

²³ Judicial Despatch to Bengal, 10th April 1816.

It was only when compelled by the absolute necessity of relieving the particularly overburdened* District Judges that Hastings's successor John Adam, allowed the transfer of Magistracy to a few Collectors in 1823,²⁴ and that too as a temporary measure. The following Government of Amherst frankly opposed the idea of generally uniting the Magistracies with the Collectorships and advocated the appointment of separate officers in each District to hold the former charge.²⁵ On the practical consideration of reducing the load of District Judges, the Amherst Government conceded the demand for transferring a portion of the former's responsibility to the Collectors by authorising the latter to decide revenue suits.²⁶ A reservation was, nevertheless, made. This was that revenue suite like the rest had to be instituted before the Judges who were to have the absolute discretion of referring all, any, or none of them to the Collectors for decision.²⁷ The delegation of the aforesaid power (of judicial decision) to the Collectors does represent a compromise of Cornwallis's philosophy. But, at the same time, the retention of complete control over the judicial activity of Collectors in the hands of the Judges demonstrates that the Bengal Government was not yet prepared to break with Cornwallis's ideals and "the deadweight of administrative traditionalism it had come to represent".²⁸

It was left to Bentinck to shake off this "deadweight". Apart from other things his regime constitutes a landmark for having led the Bengal Administration out of the hangover of the Cornwallis era, which had so long retarded the progress of practical judicial reform in the Presidency. Rather than lean on abstract principles Bentinck made pragmatism his cardinal principle in administrative reform. The most revolutionary among Bentinck's judicial reorganisation, were, (1) the transfer of almost the entire original jurisdiction to the Indian Judges; (2) the delegation of original† authority over revenue suits to the Collectors; and (3) the general transfer of Magistracy to the latter. All three represent fundamental changes in the structure and spirit of Cornwallis's system which had held sway, (in spite of its shortcomings), with little modification down to the days of Amherst.

* After a brief interregnum, (1814-19), arrears before the District Judges had started mounting again. Thus after the arrears having crept down from 16,898 at the beginning of 1815, to 13,875 at the end of 1820, the figure had again swelled to 23,170 by the end of 1823. Parliamentary Branch Collections, 1832, vol. 7, Appx. V., No. 16.

²⁴ Adam's Minute, 12th June 1823, Civil Judl. Consultations, 12th June 1823, Nos. 20-23.

²⁵ Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February 1827.

²⁶ By Regulation XIV of 1824.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, p. 157.

† By this it was meant that the Collectors were now empowered to receive and decide revenue cases on their own.

COLLECTIVE LANDGRANTS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS (c. 606-1206 A.D.)

BHAKAT PRASAD MAZUMDAR

Literary texts and inscriptions of ancient and medieval India commend the grant of land to individuals. Chapter 61 of the *Anuśāsana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* is devoted to the benefits accruing from the gifts of land (*bhumi-dāna-prasamsā*). Many landgrants of ancient and medieval India contain these lines taken from the *Mahābhārata* that "the giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for 50,000 years and he who abets the act, dwell as long as in hell." A number of early medieval kings like Dhaṅga¹ are known to have set up dwellings for Brāhmaṇas. In Kashmir Queen Sūryamatī and King Jayasimha created numerous *agrahāras* for Brāhmaṇas.²

The number of donees receiving landgrants at a time, as indicated in early medieval north Indian epigraphs, varies. It is as high as 6000 and as low as three. Trilocanapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, donated the village of Lebhunḍaka to 6000 Brāhmaṇas, who belonged to Pratiṣṭhāna (near modern Jhusi, near Allahabad).³ In this article, excepting the inscriptions relating to Broach, all those epigraphs of early medieval north India have been taken into consideration, where the number of donees are specifically stated.

There is a clear distinction between an individual landgrant and a collective landgrant in early medieval north India. During the period under review (c. 606-1206 A.D.) not even a single plot of land was donated in favour of a group of persons other than Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas alone received lands as gifts at a time. One may argue that the Sonapur plate of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya of the Somavamśī dynasty donated the village of Goṭṭaikelā in the Luputurā-khaṇḍa to the association of merchants of Kamalavana (*Kamalavana-vaṇik-sthāna*).⁴ But this association transferred the gift to defray the expenses of the temples of Keśava (Viṣṇu) and Āditya (Sūrya).

The extent of donated lands to a number of Brāhmaṇas mentioned in one copper-plate varied from several *timpiras* of land in a village⁵ to one or several villages. The largest number of villages granted to several Brāhmaṇas at a time was by Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla. The Candrāvati grant, dated VS. 1150/1093 A.D. refers to the gift of the Kaṭhehalī-*pattalā* and Sariṣoḍa village in Vṛihadrehevamkā-ṇai-*pattalā* (excepting 34 villages previously granted in the Kaṭhehalī-*pattalā*) to 500 Brāhmaṇas.⁶ These donees also received another 32 villages as gift, six years later,⁷ that is in

¹ *EI.* i. 146.

² Queen Sūryamatī created 108 *agrahāras* at Vijayeśvara (*RT.* vii. 184). Jayasimha gave away several villages at a time to learned Brāhmaṇas (*RT.* viii, 2395, 3319).

³ Jhusi inscription of Trilocanapāla, dated VS. 1084/1027 A.D. (*IA.* xviii. 34, *DHNI.* I. p. 609).

⁴ *EI.* xxiii. 251.

⁵ For example, grant of 23 *timpiras* of land to 23 Brāhmaṇas by King Mādhavavarman of the Śailodhava dynasty of Orissa (S. N. Rajaguru: *Inscr. of Orissa*, vol. I. pt. ii, pp. 188, 190); grant of 12 *timpiras* of land to 12 Brāhmaṇas by Madhyamarāja in Cuttack (*ibid.*, I, p. 205, *DHNI.* i. p. 446).

⁶ *EI.*, xiv. 193-196.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xiv. 197-200.

VS. 1156/1100 A.D. The number of villages in a Gāhaḍavāla-*pattalā* can not be determined. Dr. R. S. Sharma suggests that it may "have comprised at least 100 villages".⁸ The territorial division *pattalā*⁹ occurs in inscriptions of other early medieval dynasties. Commenting on Mālādvādaśaka and Korella-caturaśīti in Kalacuri inscriptions, Mm. V. V. Mirashi says that a *pattalā* may have consisted of 10, 12, 40 or 100 villages.¹⁰ Dr. S. K. Mitra finds as many as ten *pattalās* in the Candella kingdom.¹¹ He has no doubt that a *pattalā* was larger than a village, but he is not sure whether it was identical with a *viṣaya* or a subdivision of a district. An indication of the area of a *pattalā* in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom is furnished by inscriptions. The Set Mahet grant of Govindacandra, dated VS. 1186/1130 A.D. refers to Vādā-caturāśīti-*pattalā*.¹² Obviously this *pattalā* consisted of 84 villages. The two Candrāvati plates show that the Kaṭhehalī-*pattalā* comprised of more than 36 villages. It is noteworthy that the boundary of the Kaṭhehalī and Brhadṛhevaratha *pattalās* mentioned in the Candrāvati plates covered the modern *pargana* of Katehir in the Banaras district.¹³

The Chammak copper-plates of the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II state the conditions under which one thousand Brāhmaṇas could enjoy a village in gift.¹⁴ These were that the donee Brāhmaṇas and their future successors were to "commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituent parts (*saptāṅga*) of (successive) kings; that they are not slayers of Brāhmaṇas; and are not thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, etc.; that they do not wage war; (and) that they do no wrong to our villages." The donees were also warned that if they acted otherwise the king could take the land away. Such conditions are not laid down by donors of early medieval north India. The declared object of collective landgrants to several individuals was usually the welfare of parents and the donors. The occasion of those grants were some religious festivals like the *Uttarāyana* or *Dakṣiṇāyana Saṁkrānti*, solar or lunar eclipse, *Akṣaya-tritīyā* or *Tulāpuruṣadāna* or renewal of lost and ineffective charters. In recent years some scholars have enquired into the motives of a particular land-grant whose beneficiaries were many. Dr. R. S. Sharma has suggested several motives like colonisation of barren and jungle areas, placating the priests, introduction of Brahmanical culture in tribal areas. It appears that some collective landgrants were issued on such occasions when it was considered expedient to defend the border of a kingdom by settling a large number of Brāhmaṇas there.

Lands given to Brahmanas collectively were sometimes situated at the border of the kingdom of the donor. Those lands can be located in the Broach, Kālāñjara, Banaras, Mirzapur and Bhilsa areas. Broach was a prosperous emporium and it was situated at the border of several kingdoms of ancient and early medieval India. It formed the northern boundary of the Traikūṭaka kingdom. Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Saṁgamasimha, who probably was a feudatory of the Aulikaras of Mandasor, donated the village Śoṇavvā in the Antar-Narmadā-*viṣaya* to five Brāhmaṇas of Broach in Yr. 292/c. 540 A.D.¹⁵ Śoṇavvā has been identified with the village Sunaokalā, 18 miles west of Broach and 2 miles north of the river Kim. After

⁸ R. S. Sharma: *Indian Feudalism*, p. 213.

⁹ Dr. D. C. Sircar defines a *pattalā* as "a territorial division of a district" (*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 245).

¹⁰ *CII*. iv. intro. p. cxxxvi.

¹¹ S. K. Mitra: *Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, pp. 161-162.

¹² *EI*. xi. 20-26.

¹³ R. Niyogi: *History of the Gahadavala dynasty*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁴ *CII*. iii. No. 55, pp. 237-239.

¹⁵ Sunaokalā pl., *CII*, iv. 33 ff.

Samgamasimha, most of powers which held Gujarat and Surat made grants in the Broach area. It is not known how many years passed between the death of *Samgamasimha* and the occupation of Broach by the early Kalacuri King of *Māhiṣmatī*, *Śaṅkaragaṇa*. The southern border of the kingdom of Kalacuri *Śaṅkaragaṇa* and his son *Biddharāja* touched Broach. The Sarsavni copper-plate of *Buddharāja*, dated Yr. 361/609 A.D. refers to the grant of a village round modern Broach to *Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin*.¹⁶ Sometime before 629 A.D. Broach passed in the hands of the Early Gurjaras. The river Kim formed the southern boundary of their kingdom. The Early Gurjara king *Dadda II Praśāntarāga* made donations to more than forty *Brāhmaṇas* collectively in the *Akrūreśvara-viṣaya* (modern Anklesvara *tāluq*) in Broach district in Yrs. 380/629 A.D. and Yr. 385/634 A.D.¹⁷ His successors lost Broach to the Maitrakas of Valabhī. *Dharasena IV* and *Śilāditya III* (of the Maitrakā dynasty) made grants in Broach area in *GE* 330/648 A.D. and *GE* 357/676 A.D.¹⁸ The *Cālukyas* drove out the Valabhis from the Gurjara province and the early Gurjara king *Dadda III* recovered the paternal kingdom. His successors ruled over the region till the invasion of the Arabs, which according to *Mirashi* occurred near about 739 A.D. The Navsari plates of *Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin* of the *Cālukya* dynasty, dated *KS* 490/740 A.D.¹⁹ shows that he defeated the Arabs and made a grant in Broach. But the *Cālukyas* of Gujarat were overthrown by the *Rāṣtrakūṭas*. Though *Rāṣtrakūṭa Dantidurga* is known to have defeated the *Cālukyas* of Navsari, yet it is difficult to prove the conquest of Broach by him. *Mirashi* says that when he overthrew those *Cālukyas*, the country to the north of the river Kim was occupied by a *Cāhamāna* feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāra King *Nāgabhaṭa I*. *Dr. B. N. Puri* also suggests that Broach was occupied by the Gurjara-Pratihāra King *Nāgabhaṭa I* after the fall of *Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin*.²⁰ The feudatory was *Cāhamāna Bhartrvādha II*. He also donated *Arjunadevigrāma* village to three *Brāhmaṇas* in Broach area in *VS* 813/756 A.D.²¹ It is doubtful if the Gurjara-Pratihāras had a firm hold over Broach. The Hansot plate of *Bhartrvādha II* was issued from Broach in 756 A.D. and it also records that the five predecessors of *Bhartrvādha II* held the territory of Broach. Again, the Antroli-Chharoli plate informs us that *Rāṣtrakūṭa Karka II* granted a village in Surat district in *Śaka* 679/575 A.D.²² Thus it becomes apparent that Broach was a coveted area, and the collective landgrants were made in that disputed area. Amongst the powers which occupied Broach, the Kalacuris of *Māhiṣmatī*, Early Gurjaras, Maitrakas of Valabhī, Gujarat *Cālukyas*, feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the *Rāṣtrakūṭas* made collective landgrants in that area in between 541 and 757 A.D.

Like Broach *Kālāñjara* was coveted by a number of early medieval powers. The Gurjara-Pratihāra Emperor *Bhoja I* granted a village in favour of many donees only once during his reign. The donated village *Valākā-grahāra* in the *Udumbara-viṣaya* of the *Kālāñjara-maṇḍala* had originally been given by his grandfather, *Nāgabhaṭa II*.²³ The plate, on which the grant is recorded, also states that the grant was first made by *Paramēśvara Sarvavarman*, who has been identified with a king of the same name in

¹⁶ *CII*. iv. 52, 54-55.

¹⁷ *Kaira pl. ibid.* iv. 66, 71-72.

¹⁸ *IA.*, vii. 73 ff.

¹⁹ *CII*. iv. No. 30, p. 137 ff.

²⁰ *B. N. Puri: History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas*, p. 37.

²¹ Hansot plate, *EI*. xii. 197 ff.

²² *JBBRAS*. xvi. 106.

²³ Barah copper-plate, dated *VS* 893/836 A.D., *EI*. xix. 17 ff.

the Maukhari dynasty.²⁴ The necessity for re-grant by Bhoja I arose, because, the donees, the Brāhmaṇas born in the family of Bhaṭṭa Kācarasvāmin, failed to enjoy the donated village due to the incapacity of the *Vyavahārin* in the reign of Rāmabhadra, father of Bhoja I.

Kālañjara was situated in a strategic region. It did not lie in the heart of any big empire. It formed a bone of contention between the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Rāṣtrakūṭas, Candellas and Kalacuris. Nāgabhaṭa II held it. But it is not improbable that in the wake of the expedition of Rāṣtrakūṭa Govinda III, the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Nāgabhaṭa II lost the Kālañjara-*maṇḍala*. Rāmabhadra, son of Nāgabhaṭa II, possibly did not control that *maṇḍala*, because he is not known to have ruled beyond Gwalior²⁵. Bhoja I reconquered it sometime before 836 A.D., the date of the Barah plate. His successors remained its master for less than 100 years. It is difficult to determine who held Kālañjara-*maṇḍala* in the middle of the tenth century. The Deoli (940 A.D.) and Karhad (959 A.D.) plates show that Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa were threatened, if not conquered by Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III. Mainly on the basis of Jura inscription, Dr. H. C. Ray believed that Kālañjara was captured from the Gurjara-Pratihāras sometime before 940 A.D.²⁶ Dr. Puri identifies the vanquished Gurjara-Pratihāra as Vināyakapāla I.²⁷ But Dr. D. C. Sircar rightly suggests that the abovementioned Deoli and Karhad plates do not imply the capture of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa (Chitor) by Kṛṣṇa III.²⁸ However, it is evident from the Khajuraho inscription, dated VS 1011/954 A.D., that Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjara before 954 A.D.²⁹ Dr. Sircar thinks that Yaśovarman captured Kālañjara from a member of the Pratihāra family.³⁰ There is force in the argument of Dr. Mitra that there is no positive evidence to show that the Candella Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjara from the Rāṣtrakūṭas.³¹ So it appears that before 954 Kālañjara passed into the hands of Candellas from the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In view of the strategic importance of the place under discussion it is apparent that Bhoja I was actuated by a deep motive in restoring the lands to the donees of the Barah plate.

The Gāhaḍavālas donated villages to more than two beneficiaries at least on six occasions³². The donated villages were situated in seven *pattalās*. Excepting the Hathaunda and Vajainhācchāsathi *pattalās*, the other five *pattalās* have been identified. All those five *pattalās* were situated on the eastern border of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. The Kaṭhehalī, Bṛhadṛhevaratha and Bṛhadrehevaṅkānai *pattalās*, mentioned in the Candrāvati plates of VS 1150 and 1156, were situated in the Katehir pargana and Chandauli in Banaras district. The Candrāvati grants also state that Candradeva marched further to the east.³³ So at best Candradeva's kingdom may have extended up to Mirzapur district. This probability is strengthened by the locality

²⁴ B. N. Puri: *op. cit.* p. 52 f.n.

²⁵ *EI.*, i. 154, first Vaillabhaṭṭasvāmin temple inscription.

²⁶ Jura inscription in *JBORS.* 1928, p. 476 ff. Ray's view in *DHNI.* vol. ii. p. 674 accepted by Altekar: *Rastrakutas and their times*, p. 113.

²⁷ B. N. Puri: *op. cit.* p. 91.

²⁸ D. C. Sircar: *Studies in the Geography of ancient and medieval India*, p. 243, f.n. 2.

²⁹ *EI.* i. 134, verse of the Khajuraho inscription No. 2.

³⁰ *EI.* xxxi.

³¹ S. K. Mitra: *op. cit.* p. 39.

³² (i and ii) Candrāvati pl. of Candradeva, VS 1150/1093 A.D. (*EI.* xiv. 193-196, *IHQ.* 1949, pp. 31-37), VS 1156/1100 A.D. (*EI.* xiv. 197-200); (iii) Terry & Co. grant of Madanapāla and Pṛthivīśrika, dated VS 1164 (?)/1109 A.D. (*JRAS.* 1896, pp. 787-788); (iv) Gagaha pl. of Govindacandra, dated VS 1199/1143 A.D. (*EI.* xiii. 216-220); (v and vi) Kamauli pls. of Jayaccandra, dated VS 1231 and 1235/1174 (?) and 1179 A.D. (*EI.* iv. 124-126) and VS 1223/1177 A.D. (*EI.* iv. 128-129).

³³ *IHQ.* 1949, p. 37.

of the donated village in the collective landgrant of Madanapāla Gāhaḍavāla, who is not known to have annexed any fresh territory to that of his father Candradeva. The village of Bahuvarā in the Bhailavata-pattalā, donated by Madanapāla to Purohita Devavara and others, was possibly located in the Barhar *pargana* in modern Mirzapur district.³⁴ Thus both Candradeva and his son Madanapāla followed the policy of settling a number of Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries in the eastern frontier of the kingdom. We are not sure whether Jayaccandra followed a similar policy. The Kamauli plate dated 1177 A.D. records that he gave away in gift the village of Mātāpura in the Kacchoha-pattalā to eleven Brāhmaṇas jointly. That *pattalā* has been located in Majhwa *tāluq* in Mirzapur district.³⁵ According to the Sihvar grant of 1175 A.D. and the Bodh-Gaya inscription (1183-1192 A.D.)³⁶ the easternmost frontier of Jayaccandra extended up to Patna and Gaya districts. It is likely that Jayaccandra did not have direct control and undisturbed possession of the region between Mirzapur and South Bihar. The Khayāravāla dynasty ruled over Western Magadha as vassals of the Gāhaḍavālas at least between 1158 and 1197 A.D. While editing the Gaya inscription dated VS 1232/1175 A.D. and Yr. 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Govindapāla, Dr. D. C. Sircar observes: "The people, especially of the Gaya region, if not of the other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāhaḍavālas".³⁷ If we accept this view, it becomes clear that the territorial claims of Jayaccandra over South Bihar and Western Magadha did not imply unquestioned loyalty of those subjects. Hence, Jayaccandra may have thought it wiser to settle a group of loyal Brāhmaṇas in the Mirzapur district.

The two collective landgrants issued by the Paramāra and Candella rulers also refer to donation of villages in strategic frontier areas. Amongst the Paramāra Mahākumāras between VS 1199 and 1256, Mahākumāra Hariścandra alone made a collective landgrant. According to the Bhopal plate, Haricaṇḍradeva, identified with Hariścandra, donated the village Dādarapadra in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* to 19 Brāhmaṇas in VS 1214/1157 A.D.³⁸ Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* comprises Udayapura and Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State and Raisen in Bhopal. This area was the scene of many political struggles in between VS 1190 and 1229. Though the *Kumārapālacarita* tells us that the Paramāra ruler Naravarman was killed by Caulukya Jayasimha,³⁹ yet Jayasimha Sūri and Jina-Maṇḍana state that the ministers of Jayasimha Caulukya prevented him from killing Paramāra Naravarman.⁴⁰ The Vadnagar *prasasti* also states that Jayasimha "fettered the proud king of Mālava".⁴¹ The defeat of Naravarman is also testified to by the Talwara inscription and since the date of the Gala inscription, 1137 A.D., Caulukya Jayasimha Siddharāja assumed the title of *Avantinātha*.⁴² How long and when did Jayasimha rule over the Bhilsa region is uncertain. But the Banda plate records that Candella Madanavarman forcibly occupied the region in VS 1190/1134 A.D.⁴³ An echo of the event is recorded in verse 11 of the undated Mau inscription of Madanavarman. But the success of Madanavarman was short lived. By VS 1191/

³⁴ R. Niyogi: *op. cit.* p. 131.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 31.

³⁶ Sihvar grant in *IA.* xviii. 129; both Gaya inscription in *IHQ.* 1929, pp. 14-30.

³⁷ *EI.* xxxv. 236.

³⁸ *Ibid.* xxiv. 232-233.

³⁹ *Kumārapāla-carita* (Nirnayasagar Press ed.), verse 41.

⁴⁰ *Kumārapālabhūpāla-carita*, I, v. 41; *Kumārapālaprabandha*, 7.

⁴¹ *EI.* i. p. 298.

⁴² *DHNI.* vol. ii. p. 970.

⁴³ *IA.* xvi. 208. Madanavarman granted a piece of land measuring 10 *halas* to a Brāhmaṇa, while encamping near Bhāillavāmin.

1134 A.D. the Paramāras were in occupation of the Bhilsa region when Yaśovarman granted two villages, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Naravarman, in the Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala to a Karṇāta Brahmana. This grant was reconfirmed by his son Lakṣmīvarman in VS 1200/1144 A.D.⁴⁴ Dr. N. P. Chakravarti ascribes a cause to the reconfirmation of this charter. He says that sometime between VS 1191 and 1200/1134 and 1144 A.D. the Paramāras lost temporarily the region mentioned above (Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala).⁴⁵ It appears from the Ujjain and Bhopal plates dated 1144 and 1157 A.D.⁴⁶ respectively, that the region again came under the control of the Paramāra Mahākumāras Lakṣmīvarman and his son Hariścandra at least in VS 1200 and 1214/1144 and 1157 A.D. A few years later again it fell in the hands of Caulukyas, as testified to by the fragmentary Udayapur inscription dated VS 1220/1163 A.D.⁴⁷ So it is likely that the Paramāras held the maṇḍala between 1157 and 1163 A.D. An inscription dated VS 1229/1173 A.D. refers to the occupation of Bhāillasvāmī-Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala by Caulukya Ajayapāla.⁴⁸ Thus there is no doubt that the master of the above-mentioned maṇḍala changed frequently in six decades of the twelfth century. So probably Paramāra Mahākumāra Hariścandra thought that by granting land to nineteen Brāhmaṇas at a time, he could utilise the donees in exerting moral pressure on the people of Udayapura-Bhilsa region to check the aggressions of Candellas and Caulukyas of Gujarat.

The Semra plate of Paramardideva Candella is equally significant. It (dated VS 1223/1165 A.D.) records that he confirmed a grant which was made earlier by his paternal grandfather Madanavarman in VS 1219/1162 A.D. to 309 Brāhmaṇas in three different viṣayas and Gokula.⁴⁹ We are not told the reason of the lapse of the original grant of Madanavarman, whose so far last inscription is dated 1163 A.D. (Mahoba Jain image-inscription, *DHNI.*, vol. ii. p. 708). It is difficult to choose between the two following views on the successor of Madanavarman. Dr. H. C. Ray finds the possibility of a struggle for the throne between Yaśovarman and his son Paramardi, son and grandson of Madanavarman, respectively. He observes: "The absence of Yaśovarman's name from his son's grants, may probably indicate that the son's accession to the throne was not entirely peaceful".⁵⁰ But Dr. S. K. Mitra does not admit any war of succession and hold that Yaśovarman ruled for a very brief period.⁵¹ There is another aspect of the ineffectiveness of the above-mentioned charter of Madanavarman sometime between 1162 and 1165 A.D. It is not unlikely that Kumārapāla Caulukya invaded the Madanpur and Dudhai regions, as indicated by the two Udayapur inscriptions dated VS 1220 and 1222/1163 and 1166 A.D.⁵², and consequently the donees, who received landgrant from Madanavarman in 1162 A.D. had lost their rights. It has been indicated earlier that Madanavarman had lost the hold over the Bhilsa region in between VS 1190 and 1191/1134 A.D. So it is apparent that Madanavarman and Paramardi made a collective grant, as indicated in the Semra plate,

⁴⁴ *IA.* xix. 351-353; *DHNI.* vol. ii. 882-883, 891.

⁴⁵ *EI.* xxiv. p. 230.

⁴⁶ *IA.* xix. 351-353; *EI.* xxiv. 225-234.

⁴⁷ *IA.* xviii. 343; *DHNI.* vol. ii. p. 982.

⁴⁸ *IA.* xviii. 347; *EI.* xxiv. 230; *DHNI.* vol. ii. p. 999.

⁴⁹ Semra pl., *EI.* iv. 153-170.

⁵⁰ *DHNI.* vol. ii. pp. 712-713.

⁵¹ Mitra: *op. cit.* p. 118.

⁵² Udayapur inscra., *DHNI.* vol. ii. pp. 982-983, 989. The Udayapura stone-inscription, dated VS 1220/1163 A.D., states that during the reign of Kumārapāla, the *Avantinātha*, Mahārājaputra Vasantapāla made donations to the temple of Udāleśvara in the town of Udayapura.

in the frontier of their kingdom and adjacent to the territories of the Paramāras and Caulukyās.

The Nidhānpur copper-plates also show that 205 Brāhmaṇas received lands somewhere in the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Bhūti-varman and Bhāskaravarman. It is very likely that the donated area called Mayūraśālmā-āgrahāra was rightly identified by P. N. Bhattacharya, J. C. Ghosh, R. C. Majumdar as lying in the Sylhet district.⁵³ Bhūti-varman is not known to have proceeded further eastward than the Surma Valley (Sylhet district). The village donated by Trilocanapāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, according to the Jhusi inscription, has been located in the modern Allahabad district, which was the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Trilocanapāla. Probably, Banaras had been lost to Mahipāla of the Pāla family by 1026 A.D., the date of the Sarnath inscription. Thus 12 out of 28 collective landgrants were made in the frontier areas of kingdoms of donors in early medieval north India.

LOCALITY OF THE DONATED LANDS

Most of the villages donated to numerous persons at a time were situated in fertile areas. The topography of the Mayūraśālmā-āgrahāra, mentioned in the Nidhānpur plates of Bhāskaravarman (lines 5-7 of the Nidhānpur plates, *EI.* xix. 118), shows that at the time of the original grant by Bhūti-varman, the Kauśikī or Kosi river was flowing by the east, south and north-west of the donated lands in the district of Chandrapurī. In the time of Bhāskaravarman, though the Kauśikī river became dry (*śuṣka-kauśikā*) on the east, south-east and north-west, yet there was still some water in the above-mentioned river, which was flowing (*gānginikā*) by the western border of the plot, and there was a tank of Vyavahārin Khasoka on the north-western border. There are many rivers bearing the name of Kauśikī in northern India, as for example, one flowing through Nepal and Tirhut, another through Almora and Ramnagar in north-western U.P. Dr. D. C. Sircar observes on the Kauśikī river mentioned in the Nidhānpur plate, that "originally the river seems to have passed through North Bengal to join the Brahmaputra" (*Geography of ancient and medieval India*, p. 42 f.n.). If we accept this identification, the *āgrahāra* may be located in the Sylhet district. Further, Bhūti-varman's record is inscribed on a rock in the Kapili valley, which lies in the modern Nowgong district.⁵⁴

The lands donated by the Somavamśī King Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (935-970 A.D.) in the sixth year, was situated in the Vakaveḍḍā village in the Oṅgā-taṭa-*viṣaya*, which indicates that the district was close to the river Oṅgā.⁵⁵ The fourteen Brāhmaṇa recipients of the landgrant, in 6 villages by Sodhadeva in VS 1135/1079 A.D. also received lands in a fertile area.⁵⁶ These villages have been identified by Mirashi as lying within the modern Dhuriāpar *pargana* in Gorakhpur district.⁵⁷ The lands donated in the Kaṭhehalī-pattalā to the 500 Brāhmaṇas by Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla were very fertile, because, that *pattalā* was enclosed on three sides by the

⁵³ *EI.* xix. 118. For identification of Mayūraśālmā-āgrahāra *vide EI.* xix. 246 and *The Classical Age* edited by R. C. Majumdar, p. 91, f.n. 3.

⁵⁴ *EI.* xxvii. 18; *The Classical Age* (ed. R. C. Majumdar), p. 91.

⁵⁵ *EI.* iii. 340-344. The river has been identified with river Oṅga, which flows through Sonepur in Orissa even now. The village Vakaveḍḍā has been identified by Hiralal with Baktī, 4 miles to the south of the river Oṅga and 15 miles north of Bolangir (*EI.* xi. 198), and by R. C. Mazumdar with Bakebira, close to Salebhata station on the river Oṅga (*ibid.* p. 101).

⁵⁶ *CII.* iv. 382 ff.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 385.

rivers Bhāgirathī, Varanā and Gomatī. The other *pattalās* mentioned in the two Candrāvati plates were not situated in dry areas.

Some of the donated villages lay in mountainous and inhospitable regions. The Neulpur grant of the Bhaumakara King Śubhākaradeva, 8th Yr. records the grant of two villages named Parvata-dronī Kompāraka and Daṇḍāṅkiyoka in the *viṣaya* of Vubhyudaya in northern Tosali to 100 Brāhmaṇas. The word *parvata-dronī* means junction or separation of two mountains. So the tract must have been very near two hills. The lands donated by King Lokanātha in the Yr. 44 lay in the Suvvūṅga *viṣaya*. That *viṣaya* has been described in the inscription as: "in the forest region, having no distinction of natural and artificial, having a thick network of bush and creepers, where deer, buffaloes, boars, tigers, serpents etc., enjoy according to their will, all pleasures of home life".⁶⁰ The copper-plate does not indicate how much of the jungle area was granted to the donees at the request of Mahāsāmanta Pradoṣaśarman. Adding up the shares, enjoyed by the donees, as prepared by Dr. R. G. Basak, it appears that the donees enjoyed at least $41\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* and 534 *dronas* of land. The Gunaighar inscription of 509 A.D. informs us that one *pāṭaka* is equal to 40 *dronas*. A *drona* is equivalent to 16-20 *bighās* of land in Bengal.⁶¹ It appears, therefore, that the donees of the Tipperah grant of Lokanātha received 35,104 *bighās* of land ($41\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* + 534 *dronas* = $1660 + 534$ *dronas* = 2194 *dronas*, that is, 2194×16 *bighās* = 35,104 *bighās*). Another fact to be noted in this connection is that the donees did not come from outside at the time of the prayer of Pradoṣaśarman for land, for the temple of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa and the Brāhmaṇas, to King Lokanātha. Those Brāhmaṇas were local people, as evident from these words in the inscription "and (also for the residence of) Brāhmaṇas, versed in the four Vedas, who have a community there".⁶²

GOTRAS AND STUDY OF THE VEDAS

The collective landgrants are also significant for the study of social history of early medieval north India. The two largest number of donees belonged to the Bhāradvāja and Kāśyapa *gotras*. The break-up of the *gotras* of largest number of donees in some inscriptions, is as follows:

	Bhāradvāja	Kāśyapa	Vasiṣṭha	Gautama
Nidhānpur pl.	27/205	9/205	..	17/205
Candravati pl.	80/493	70/493	50/493	31/493
Bhopal pl.	2/18	4/18	..	2/18
Semra pl.	41/300	46/300	17/300	28/300
Total	150/1016	129/1016	67/793	78/1016

⁵⁸ EI. xv. 3-6.

⁵⁹ Śabdakalpadrūma, I., p. 456, s.v. *dronī*— शैलभेदः ॥ शैलयोः सन्धिः ।

⁶⁰ Tipperah copper-plate grant of Lokanātha, Yr. 44, lines 21-22 (EI. xv. 301 ff.).

⁶¹ According to D. C. Sircar in *IHQ*, xxvi, p. 310 f.

⁶² EI. xv. 307, line 24—*ananta-nārāyaṇasya satatam=ashtapushpikā-va(ba) li-charu-satra-pravrittaye tatra-kṛta-sāmānyānān=cha chāturovidya-vrā(brā) hmanā (ryyā) nām*, that is, perpetual maintenance of *ashtapushpikā*, *bali*, *charu*, *satra* to Bhagavan Ananta-Nārāyaṇa whose person is adored by chief gods . . . and (also for the residence of) Brāhmaṇas, versed in the four Vedas, who have a community there.

Very few belonged to Laugākṣi, Māṇḍavya, Māhula, Jātukarṇa *gotras*. The numerous *gotras* mentioned in such epigraphs testify to the statement of Puruṣottama-Paṇḍita that "it is difficult to grasp the *gotras*, which number three *kotis*".⁶³ In the above-mentioned Candravati grant alone the following *gotras* are indicated: Bhāradvāja (80), Kāśyapa (70), Kṛṣṇātreya (36), Gautama (31), Śāṇḍilya (27), Sāmkritya (24), Vasiṣṭha (50), Bhārgava (17), Darbha (2), Dhaumya (13), Gārgya (6), Jivantyayana (5), Gālava (2), Kutsa (4), Kauśika (13), Kapisthala (13), Kātyāyana (4), Kauṇḍinya (4), Maunya (3), Parāśara (11), Sāvarṇa (6), Sauśrava (15), Vatsa (20), Vandhula (2), Upamanyu (8), Hārta (1), Candrātreya (2), Kāṇva (1), Maunasa (2), Śaunaka (1), Sārka (14), Jātukarṇa (1), Jāśka (1), Maudgalya (1), Agasti (1), Gaunya (1)*. 205 donees of the Nidhānpur plates belonged to as many as 38 following *gotras**: Bhāradvāja (19+8=27), Śaunaka (15), Ālambana (13), Gautama (10+7=17), Kṛṣṇātreya (1+11=12), Gaurātreya (9), Kātyāyana (4+4=8), Yāśka (4+4=8), Pracetas (7), Kāśyapa (7+2=9), Kautsa (1), Kauṇḍinya (1+2=3), Śāṇḍilya (1+3=4), Vatsa (3), Pārāśara (2), Āśvalāyana (1), Vārāha (2+4=6), Maudgalya (2+1=3), Sālanikāyana (1), Gārgya (1+4=5), Śākaṭāyana (1), Āṅgīrasa (1), Kauśika (5+6=11), Śānkalya (1), Bārhaspatya (7), Vaiṣṇavridhi (2), Kauṭilya (7), Kavastara (1), Agniveśya (3), Bhāgrava (3), Pautrimāśya (2), Paurṇa (3), Vasiṣṭha (1), Sāvarṇa (1), Māṇḍavya (1), Sāmkrityāyana (1), Pārāskara (1) and Jātukarṇa (4).

Very few of the donees of the collective landgrants studied the *Atharvaveda*. According to the Kaira, Neulpur and Candravati plates a few only specialised in the *Atharvaveda*. 5 out of 40 donees who had emigrated from Broach, according to the Kaira plate of Dadā II Praśāntarāga, Yr. 380, were students of that *Veda*. Only one donee out of 493 mentioned in the Candravati plates of Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla is described as having studied only the *Atharvaveda*. It is surprising that one of the 205 donees of the Nidhānpur plates was specialist in that *Veda*. Taking all the collective landgrants together, it appears that those who specialised in the Vājasaneyī, Chārakya and Mādhyandina *śākhās* of the *Yajurveda* received greater portions of the donated lands. Out of the 205 donees of the Nidhānpur plates, 73 specialised in the *Rgveda* and 115 (66+49=115) in the *Yajurveda*. Similarly in the Gaonri plates of Paramāra Vākpati Muñja, while the recipients studying the *Rgveda* were 4, those studying the *Yajurveda* were 11. Amongst the donees of the Kahla plates of Soḍhadeva in north-eastern U.P. the specialists in the *Rgveda* and *Yajurveda* were equal in number, that is, seven each. But in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom the largest number of recipients of collective landgrants specialised in the *Yajurveda*. It is also noticeable that while Jāteśarman, a *Rgvedacarane-caturvedin*, received landgrants twice,⁶⁴ Brāhmaṇas Vilhā, Dāmodara, Jāgu, Praharāja and Vyāsa of the *Yajurvedacarana* were recipients of landgrants 19 times from the Gāhaḍavāla kings. Vilhā, his sons Jāgu and Vyāsa and grandson Praharāja were all specialised in the *Yajurveda*.

CONCLUSION

A survey of the collective landgrants show that they were issued by Bhāskaravarman and his ancestor Bhūtivarman, Lokanātha, Nāgabhaṭa

⁶³ *Gotra-pravara-mañjarī* in the *Early Brahmanical system of Gotra and Pravara* by J. Brough, p. 55.

* Figures in the brackets indicate the number of donees.

⁶⁴ *Et.* IV. 111-112 and xiv. 202.

⁶⁵ Vide list in App. B of R. Niyogi: *op. cit.*

II, Bhoja and Trilocanapāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Mādhavarman and Madhyamarāja of the Śailodbhava dynasty, Śubhākara of the Bhaumakara dynasty, Gayāḍatuṅga, Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya of the Somavamśī dynasty, Paramāra Vākpati Muñja and Jayasimha, Madanavarman and Paramardideva of the Candella dynasty, Mahākumāra Hariśchandra, kings of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, Soḍhadeva Kalacuri and a few feudatories. None of the kings of the Pāla and Sena, Cāhamana, Tomara, Caulukyas of Gujarat ever issued any collective landgrant. It seems that the collective landgrants were generally issued when it was considered expedient to defend the border of a kingdom by settling a large number of Brāhmaṇas there. It is also possible that the kings issuing such charters might have found the difficulty of realising taxes from the frontier areas. Aggressive monarchs like Dhaṅga Candella, Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva and Lakṣmīkarṇa and Paramāra Bhoja were strong enough to realise taxes from any part of their kingdom.

A LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS SHOWING DATE, DONOR, DONATED AREAS AND OCCASION (OF COLLECTIVE LANDGRANTS)

- Cf. 1. *Kaira pl.*, Yr. 380/629 A.D., Dadda II (Early Gurjara of Nāndīpurī); Śirīshapadraka; *Kārttika Sukla Purnimā* (CII. iv. 57 ff.) 40 Brāhmaṇas.
- Cf. 2. *Kaira pl.*, Yr. 385/634 A.D., rest as No. 1 (*Ibid.* 68 ff.).
3. *Tipperah cp.*, Yr. 44/c. 650 A.D., Lokanātha; in *Suvvūṅga viṣaya*; prayer of Mahāsāmanta Pradoṣaśarman; (*EI.* xv. 301 ff.). More than 100 Brāhmaṇas.
4. *Nidhānpur cp.*, first half of the 7th century; Bhūtiavarman and Bhāskaravarman; Mayūraśālmal-āgrahāra; (*EI.* xii. 65 ff.; xix. 115 ff. 245 ff.). 205 (119+86) Brāhmaṇas.
5. *Cullack Museum pl.*, dated 50 (?)/656 A.D. acc. to N. G. Majumdar (*EI.* xxiv. 151); Mādhavarman Śainyabhīta; 23 *limpiras* of land in Jayapura *viṣaya*; (*EI.* xivx. 148 ff.; *Inscrs. of Orissa*, I, pt. ii, p. 186 ff.). 23 Brāhmaṇas.
6. *Parikud grant*, Yr. 88 (?)/694 A.D. acc. to R. D. Banerji; Madhyamarāja; 12 *limpiras* of land in Kaṭaka-bhukti; *Kārttika Sukla* (*EI.* xi. 281 ff., *DHNI.* i. 446; *Inscrs. of Orissa*, i. pt. ii. p. 199 ff.). 12 Brāhmaṇas.
7. *Neulpur grant*, Yr. 8 (latter half of 8th century); Śubhākaradeva of Bhaumakara dynasty; 2 villages in N. Tosali (=Balasore); (*EI.* xv. 1 ff.). 200 Brāhmaṇas.
8. *Hansot pl.*, VS 813/756 A.D.; Bhartrivādḍha II, a feudatory of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa I) Gurjara-Pratihāra; village Arjuna-devīgrāma in Anklesvara *talug*; (*EI.* xii. 197-204; *DHNI.* ii. 1056). 3 Brāhmaṇas.
9. *Barah cp.*, VS 893/836 A.D.; Bhoja I Gurjara-Pratihāra village Valākāgrahāra in Kālañjara-*maṇḍala*; *Kārttika Sukla* 5; (*EI.* xix. 15 ff.). All those born in family of Bhaṭṭa Kācarasvāmin.
10. *Gaonri pl.*, VS 1038/981-82 A.D.; Vākpati Muñja Paramāra; lands in village Vanikā in mod. Agar, north-east of Ujjain; eclipse in Kārttika; (*EI.* xxiii. 108 ff.). 26 Brāhmaṇas.
11. *Talcher pl. No. 2*; 10th century A.D.; Gayāḍatuṅga, feudatory of Bhaumakaras; Vāmāitalla in Tuṅkerā-*viṣaya*, (*EI.* xxxiv. 96 ff.) as *Karaśāsana*, 3 Brāhmaṇas.

12. *Talcher pl. No. 3*; date and donor same as No. 11; village Toro as *kara-sāsana*; (*Ibid.* xxxiv. 100 ff.). 11 Brāhmaṇas.
13. *Sirpur pl.*; 10th century A.D.; Mahāśivagupta Yayāti; 1/4 of 5 villages; endowment of temple; (*EI.* xi. 184 ff.). 15 Brāhmaṇas.
14. *Patna grant, Yr. 6/c. 941 A.D.*; Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya village Vakaveddā in Soncpure state; (*EI.* iii. 340 ff.). 4 Brāhmaṇas.
15. *Kāritālāi stone-inscription*; some time between c. 940-970 A.D.; Lakṣmaṇarāja II Kalacuri; village Dirghaśākhika in Jabalpur district; (*CII.* iv. 186 ff.). 8 Brāhmaṇas.
16. *Jhusi cp.*; VS 1094/1027 A.D.; Trilocanapāla Gurjara-Pratihāra; village Lebhunḍaka, near Allahabad; *Dakṣiṇāyana Saṁkrānti*; (*IA.* xviii. 33-35). 6000 Brāhmaṇas.
17. *Mandhata pl.*; VS 1112/1056 A.D.; Jayasiṁha Paramāra; village Bhīma in Maktulā 42; (*EI.* iii. 46 ff.).
18. *Kahla pl.*; VS 1135/1079 A.D.; Soḍhadeva Kalacuri of Sarayūpāra; 20 *nālus* in 3 subdivisions of Tikarikā; *Uttarāyana Saṁkrānti* (*CII.* iv. 382 ff.). 14 Brāhmaṇas.
19. *Candrāvati pl.*, VS 1150/1093 A.D.; Candradeva Gāhaḍavāla; Kaṭhehalī pattalā and one village in Brhadṛchevaṁkānaipattalā; (*EI.* xiv. 193-196; *IHQ.* 1949. 31 ff.). 500 Brāhmaṇas but names of 495 given.
20. *Candrāvati pl.* VS 1150/1100 A.D.; Donor as No. 19; 30 villages in Brhadṛchevarāṭha pattalā and 2 villages in Kaṭhehalī pattalā; *Tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna* (*EI.* xiv. 197 f. *IHQ.* 1949. 31. f.). 500 Brāhmaṇas, but names of 495 given.
21. *Terry & Co. grant, VS 1164 (?)/1109 A.D.*; Madanapāla Gāhaḍavāla and his queen Pṛthvīśrikā; solar eclipse; (*JRAS.* 1896. p. 787 f.).
22. *Gagaha pl.*, VS 1199/1143 A.D.; Rājyapāladeva with consent of Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla; lands in Hathaunda pattalā; (*EI.* xiii. 216 f.). 3 Brāhmaṇas.
23. *Amoda pl. (2nd. set)*, KS 905/1154 A.D.; Pṛthvīdeva II Kalacuri of Ratanpur; Buḍubuḍu village; *Akṣaya-tritīyā*; (*CII.* iv. 491 ff.). 3 Brāhmaṇas brothers.
24. *Bhopal pl.*; VS 1214/1157 A.D.; Mahākumāra Haricaṁdradeva; Dādarapadra village; eclipse in Kārttika full moon; (*EI.* xxiv. 225 ff.). 19 Brāhmaṇas.
25. *Semra pl.* VS. 1223/1167 A.D.; Paramardideva Candellā, originally by Madanavarman in VS 1219 eclipse of the Sun in reign of Madanavarman; 3 villages and Gokula; (*EI.* iv. 155 ff.). 309 Brāhmaṇas.
26. *Pl. of Madanavarman*, preserved in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; VS 1192/1136 A.D.; Madanavarman; (*EI.* xxxi). 2 Brāhmaṇas.
27. *Kamauli pl.*; VS 1231/1174 (?) A.D.; Jayaccandra Gāhaḍavāla; Khāmbhamaua village; *Tulāpuruṣadāna* before Krittivāsa; (*EI.* iv. 124 ff.). 9 Brāhmaṇas.
28. *Kamauli pl.*; VS. 1233/1177 A.D.; Jayaccandra Gāhaḍavāla; Māṭāpura in Kacchoha pattalā; *Vaisākha Śukla 3*; (*EI.* iv. 128 ff.). 11 Brāhmaṇas.
29. *Rewa pl.*; VS 1253/1195 A.D.; Salakṣaṇavarman, feudatory of Vijayasimha Kalacuri; village Chhidaudā; *Mārgaśīrṣa Kṛṣṇa 7*; (*CII.* iv. 358 f.). 6 Brāhmaṇas.

A NOTE ON SOME URDU MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

S. M. HASAN

The Asiatic Society of Bengal is rich in its collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts.¹ But few know that it possesses a good number of valuable Urdu manuscripts as well. The collection of such manuscripts may be small but it excels in rare Urdu classics produced by the learned scholars of the College of Fort William.²

The Fort William College was founded in 1800, partly to promote study and research in Indian languages and partly to impart training to the Europeans in these languages. Mr. John Borthwick Gilchrist persuaded the College Council to award prizes for standard original and translated works in the Hindustani language, produced in the College of Fort William. This gave an impetus to the writers and translators; and some works of really high order were produced and genuinely awarded.³

The Society's collection of Urdu manuscripts possesses many of these award winning books. Neatly written on thick brownish colour paper each volume presents a short autobiographical notice of the writer, purpose of the compilation and name of the oriental scholar (mostly professors of the College) under whose guidance the work was compiled.

Every book of the College Library bears the seal of the Library. The seal is generally found on the verso of the title page but sometimes on both the first and the last pages of a book. It is an oviform of seal, 6 centimetre in length and 4 centimetre in width containing only four *words kitab-kaliḡ Fort-William*—in three languages, viz; Urdu, Hindi and Bengali in three lines one below the other in respective order.

True that most of these manuscripts were printed and published under the auspices of the College of Fort William⁴; nevertheless it does not minimize the importance of the original manuscripts to any great extent. Many of the printed works are rarely found to-day. Especially the first editions are almost in-extant. The Asiatic Society manuscripts especially those which were press copies suggest the probable date of the 1st edition of a particular work.

It must not be misunderstood here that the Society possesses only those Urdu manuscripts which were produced in the Hindustani department of the College of Fort William. It owns many other works as well. Few of them are quite rare. They include the *Khud navisht Savānih-i-Nassākh*, the *Balwand nāma*, *Vaqyāt-i-Akbarī*, *Intikhāb-i-sultāniya*, *Muntakhab al-favāi'd*, *Tarjama*

¹ Mr. Wladimir Ivanow remarks... "the manuscripts described, although not in a very good state of preservation, form one of the largest and most interesting collections in India." (Catg. of Persian mss. in the Society Collection).

² After the abolition of the College of Fort William in 1830, the books, manuscripts and other documents of the library were shifted to the Board of Examiners' office. Mr. George Ranking published a catalogue of these books in 1903. On the abolition of this Office these materials seem to have been distributed to several organizations. Documents of archival type seem to have reached the Records Department in the Writers' Building, manuscripts to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and some printed Books to the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

³ In his "*Gilchrist aur uska ahad*" Mr. Atiq Siddiqi gives a full list of such Hindustani books which received awards; vide pp. 170-175.

⁴ The manuscripts were generally printed at the Hindustani press, founded by Mr. Francis Gladwin and established and managed by Mr. John Borthwick Gilchrist. It started functioning from 1802, two years after the inception of the College, and ceased to function in 1828, two years before the abolition of the College.

lamhidāt-i-ainul quddāt, Diwan-i-Sher 'Alī Afsos, Diwān-i-Vila, Diwān-i-Jahān, Diwān-i-Shākir Nāji, Mazhar-al'-ajāib, Inshā-i-nauratan, Idrāb-i-Sultāni, Jahāngir Shāhi; Tārikh-i-Nadiri etc. Some of these works have deservedly attracted the attention of the scholars in recent times. The Society possesses two copies of Sher Ali's Diwan. One is dated 1871 A.D., other has no date. Sher 'Alī's dīwān has been edited.⁵ Diwan-i-Jahan is an anthology of Urdu poets with a few information about a poet's name, parentage and nativity. Nassakh's autobiography has been dealt with and described in detail by the writer of these lines in the issues of *Nigar* for March, April and May, 1959.

In the following lines I have attempted to describe some of the conspicuous manuscripts of the collection precisely. The manuscripts described below are mostly prose works.

BALWAND NĀMAH
175 fol. 30cm. n.d.

It is a short history of Banaras and its suburbs, mainly dealing with the political history of the three great chiefs of the area; viz, Raja Mansaram, Balwand Singh and Chait Singh covering up to the period 1195 A.H./1780 A.D. from the earliest times. The narratives are mostly written from the memory of the author. The name *Balwand nama* appears to have been given to this Urdu translation by the translator Shew Bhikari Lal of Muhammada-bad in the district of Ghazipur (U.P.). According to the internal evidence, the Persian title is *Tuhfa-i-taza*.⁶ The book was originally written in Persian by Khairuddin Muhammad Allahabadi.

According to the preface, the work seems to have been divided into the following five chapters:

Chapter I	Raja Mansaram
Chapter II	„ Balwand Singh
Chapter III	„ Chait Singh
Chapter IV	„ Muhit Narayan (somewhere Mahipat Narayan),
Chapter V	„ Udit Narayan.

But the present work ends with the narratives of the 3rd chapter only; and is designed as volume one. Whether the translation was ever completed or the original Persian itself remained incomplete is not evidently known from any authentic source. But the general opinion is that Maulvi Khairuddin Muhammad could not survive to complete the work. However the translation is a rare work and still remains unpublished. (No. 24)*

KHUD NAVISHT SAVĀNIH-I-NASSĀKH
182 fol. 25cm. n.d.

The work is an autobiography of Maulvi Abdul Ghafur Nassakh, a scholar-administrator of Bengal who flourished between 1833 and 1888. Nassakh was the younger brother of Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, an eminent educationist of Bengal in the 2nd half of the 19th century. Himself a poet of no mean repute, Nassakh had friendly relations with his

⁵ Prof. Zahir of Aurangabad College (Gaya) has edited this work, which is also his doctoral thesis.

⁶ One copy of *Tuhfa-i-taza* is available in the Asiatic Society Library in its Society Collection. The Persian work is not uncommon. *Tuhfa-i-taza* remains unpublished. Mr. R. Curwen translated it into English which was published from Allahabad in 1875.

* These numbers indicate the serial number of manuscripts in the register of the society for Urdu manuscripts.

celebrated contemporary Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib of Delhi. Nassakh was a prolific writer and wrote as many as twenty works—all published, except this autobiography.

Until recently the work was little known to the public—probably for reasons of doubts about its being a genuine work. No other copy of the work seems to be available elsewhere. Nassakh had a large number of pupils but unfortunately none of them seems to have made any reference to this work. However, a thorough search is required before any final verdict is pronounced.

The poet begins this work with a genealogical statement and traces his family history in very few lines. Thereafter he mentions the time and place of his birth which shows that he was born in Calcutta proper on the 1st day of Shawwal 1249 A.H./1833 A.D. He brings down the narratives up to January 1886 (two years before his death). Then he was posted at Dacca.⁷ Events have not been recorded in any chronological order. The book ends abruptly. (No. 974).

VĀQYĀT-I-AKBARI
481 fol. 25cm. n.d.

A translation of Abul Faḍl's Akbar nāma by Maulvi Khalīl 'Alī Khan Ashk who was one of the munshis of the College of Fort William.⁸ Ashk translated this work in 1809. (No. 28).

MUNTAKHAB AL-FAVĀI'D
328 fol. 25cm. n.d.

A translation of Muḥammad Maṣṣūr Saīd Abul Farāḥ's original Persian *Ausāf-al-wuluk*; the work is on general ethics and etiquette in the form of stories and fables. Abul Farāḥ is said to have flourished during the time of Sulṭān Shamsuddin Iltutmish. Maulvi Khalīl 'Alī Khān Ashk translated the work in 1810 for the College of Fort William. The original work is said to be spread over 34 chapters. Ashk has added some stories and fables out of his own mind but has maintained the number of chapters. (No. 120).

INTIKHĀB-I-SULTĀNIYA
153 fol. 18 cm. n.d.

A history of the city of Delhi and its suburbs from the earliest times down to Shāh 'Ālam II. Ashk compiled this work in 1219 A.H. corresponding to 1805 A.D. The title *Intikhab-i-sultaniya* serves as a chronogram to the work.

This work of the author is comparatively more important than his other works in the sense that it contains the autobiographical notes which are otherwise not available anywhere. These notes reveal that Ashk was born at Delhi and brought up and educated at Faizabad near Lucknow. From the very beginning of his career he was attached to the court of prince Jahāṇḍār Shāh. He came down to Calcutta in 1801 and met his teacher

⁷ Nassakh lies buried in Calcutta.

⁸ Khalīl 'Alī Khān Ashk is said to have written many books. Maulvi Nasiruddin Hashmi informs us about two works (i) *Qissa Gulzar-i-chin* and (ii) *Risala Kāināt*. The author of *Arab-i-nar-i-Urdu* mentions about *Qissa Amir Hamza* and *Vāqyāt-i-Akbari*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses three more works besides *Vaqyat-i-Akbari* viz., *Intikhab-i-sultaniya*, *Mantakhab al-favāi'd* and *Qissa Ridwan Shah va Ruḥ afza*.

and patron Maulvi Kāzim 'Alī Javān who introduced him to Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist. (No. 19).

DĪWĀN-I-JAHĀN
178 fol. 25cm. n.d.

An anthology of Urdu poets by Munshi Beni Nārāyan Jahān who compiled it at the instance of Dr. Aloy Sprenger in 1814. Jahan joined the services of the College of Fort William in 1811. He was a native of Lahore.⁹

Besides *Dīwān-i-Jahān*, he had two more compilations to his credit, namely *Char gulshan* and *Tanbihul ghāfilin*. *Chaar gulshan* was the first of his compilations and *Dīwān-i-Jahān* second. *Tanbihul ghafilin* is the translation of Shah Rafiuddin's Persian work of the same title. *Tanbihul ghāfilin* has not yet been published. (No. 56).

CHAR GULSHAN
92 fol. 25cm. n.d.

It is the first of the compilations of Munshi Beni Narayān Jahān who wrote it in 1811. A popular love story of a prince and a princess. Jahan secured a job in the College of Fort William through Maulvi Haider Bakhsh Haidari, a senior munshi of the College. *Char gulshan* is still unpublished. (No. 111.)

CHASHMA-I-FAID
35 fol. 25cm. 1804

A metrical translation of Shk. Farīduddin 'Attār's *Pandama* by Mīr Muīnuddin Faid who composed it in 1804 on the instance of Dr. J. B. Gilchrist. Faid was originally a native of Delhi but had settled at Ghazipur. There he met Dr. Gilchrist who brought him down to Calcutta and offered him a job in the College of Fort William¹⁰. (No. 71).

IQBĀL NĀMA
401 fol. 20cm. 1825

This is an abridged translation of chapter II of Ghulām Hussain Khān Tabatabai's *Syarul mutaakherin* by Mīr Bakhshis 'Alī Faizabadi. Chapter II of the original work is the history of Bengal from 1739 down to 1781. The present translation begins with the ascendancy of Sirājuddaulah over the throne of Bengal and ends with the narratives of Mubarakuddaulah, the fourth son of Mīr Jafar 'Alī Khān. Bakhshis 'Alī joined the College of Fort William in 1803. The work remains unpublished. (No. 20).

MAZHAR AL-'AJĀ'IB
181 fol. 20.5cm. 1847

A mathnavi in praise of hadrat 'Alī in particular and the prophet and his family in general by one Zahir Husain Damir. According to the

⁹ This is stated by the author of *Arbab-i-nasr-i-Urdu*; but Mr. Blumhardt mentions that Munshi Beni Nārāyan was a native of Delhi (Catg. of Hindustani mss. in the India office Library p. 7).

¹⁰ Preface of the work.

preface the author had another masnavi to his credit entitled *Masnavi nuskhā-i-muhabbat* prior to his work.

Scribe : Mīr Aḥmad Iram. (No. 766.)

TĀRIKH-I-ĀSSAM
139 fol. 25cm. n.d.

The work is an eye witness account of Mīr Jumla's Campaign in Cooch Bihar and Assam in the 4th & 5th years of Alamgir's reign by Aḥmad Shihābuddīn Tālīsh. The present manuscript is a translation of Shihābuddīn's original Persian *Fathīya 'Ibriya* by Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Husainī, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Husainī translated the work in 1805. So far as the information goes the work remains unpublished.¹¹ (No. 27.)

ĀRĀI'SH-I-MAHFIL
237 fol. 26cm. 1805

A translation of Sujān Rai Bhandari's *Khulasat al-tawārikh* by Mīr Sher 'Alī Afsos who finished it in 1805. This translation has been lithographed repeatedly. The original Persian was published from Delhi in 1818 under the edition of Dr. Zafar Hasan. Cond: good. (No. 108).

TĀRIKH BAGHĀVAT-I-HIND
MAUSUM BA MUHARBA-I-'AZIM
39 fol. 18 cm. n.d.

A history of India with especial reference to the mutiny of 1857 by Kanhayya Lal. Pub. ed. 1889. A defective copy. (No. 128).

TĀRIKH-I-NĀDIRI
375 fol. 25.5 cm.

A translation of Mahdī Khān Astrabadi's Persian work *Tārīkh Jahān Kushā-i-Nādrī* by Haidar Bakhsh Haidarī, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Haidari finished his translation in 1809. *Tārīkh-i-Nādirī* is a history of the famous Nādir Shāh Afghān. *Tārīkh-i-Nādirī* is the chronogram of the book. A rare copy. (No. 23.)

TĀRIKH-I-SHER SHĀHI
66 fol. 26cm. n.d.

A translation of 'Abbās Khān b. Shaikh 'Alī Sharvānī's Persian work of the same title by Mazhar 'Alī Khān Vela, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Vela finished the translation in 1805. This work has recently been edited by Dr. S. M'īnūl Haq. Karachi, 1963.

Vela has given a glossary of Turkish words with their meaning in Urdu towards the end between fol. 370 b and 375b. (No. 25).

TĀRIKH-I-RĀMPUR
136 fol. 27cm. n.d.

A history of Rampur and its suburbs by some anonymous author. (No. 470.)

¹¹ The Persian text has once been published from Calcutta in 1847. Mr. T. Pavie translated the *Tārīkh-i-Assam* of Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Husainī into French. Paris, 1845.

BĀGH-I-SUKHAN: TARJAMA-'I-BUSTĀN
202 fol. 25cm. 1218 A.H./1803 A.D.

It is a commentary and translation of Sadi's Bustan by Mirzā Mughal in prose. It is based on the commentary of Mīr Ghulām Husain. Mirza Mughal was a native of Lucknow and a pupil of Mirza Kāzim 'Alī Javān. The author was awarded a prize of Rs. 400/- on the compilation of the book. Preface of the work contains autobiographical notes of Mirzā Mughal. (No. 12.)

BAITAL PACHCHISI
98 fol. 24cm. n.d.

A translation of the work by Mazhar Ali Khan Vela who finished it in 1803. Vela acknowledges the help of Sri Lallu Lal in the translation of the work. Repeatedly lithographed. (No. 130.)

NISĀT AL-'ISHQ: SHARH GHUTHYA
50 fol. 24cm. n.d.

A commentary on one of the sufi treatises of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Gilāni by Habibullah Shah Qādri in Dakhni prose. (No. 8.)

RISĀLA DAR BAYĀN-I-MA'DANYĀT
35 fol. 18cm. 1841

It is a note book on chemistry dealing with some minerals like gold, silver, copper, zinc and manganese. (No. 33.)
Scribe: Sheo Chandra Karmakar.

TARIKH-I-GHARIBI
113 fol. 18cm. n.d.

It is an anthology of mythological stories related in verse. The author does not reveal his name but mentions the date of compilation of the book as 1114 A.H. The language is Bhakha. (No. 132.)

AKHLĀQ-I-HINDI
30 fol. 25cm. n.d.

A translation of Mufti Tājuddīn's Persian work Mufarreḥul qulūb by Mir Bahādur 'Alī Husaini, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Bahādur 'Alī translated the work in 1802. Pub. ed. Calcutta, 1803. (No. 116.)

ANVĀR-I-SUHAILI
385 fol. 24cm. n.d.

A translation of Mulla Husain Vāi'z Kāshifi's Persian work Anvār-i-Suhaili in Dakhni prose. (No. 129.)

FARAS NANA-I-RANGIN
47 fol. 23.5 cm. n.d.

A work on horse keeping giving description of various kinds of horses, their characteristics etc. by Saadat yar Khan Ragin.

A Ph.D. work on Rangin has been published by the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Karachi, 1958. (No. 73.)

ĀRĀI'SH-I-MAHFIL: QISSA HĀTIM TĀI'
281 fol. 26cm.

The work is known as *Haft Sair-i-Hatim* also. Maulvi Haidar Bakhsh Haidari finished its compilation in 1801, a little later his entry in the College of Fort William. The book received an award of Rs. 400/- under the Gilchrist plan. First published in 1802, then repeatedly lithographed. (No. 18).

GANJ-I-KHUBI
50 fol. 24cm n.d.

A translation of Mulla Hussain Vāi'z kāshifi's *Akhlāq-i-muhsini* by Mir Amman Dehlavi. Pub. ed. 1846. (No. 466.)

GULZAR-I-DĀNISH
559 fol. 26.5cm. 1804

A translation of Shk. 'Inayetullah's *Bahār-i-Dānish* by Haidar Bakhsh Haidari, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Haidari finished the translation in 1804. A rare copy. Remains unpublished.

NAU TARZ-I-MURAṢṢA'
116 fol. 23cm. n.d.

A translation and adaptation of Amīr Khusrāu's *Qissa Chahār Darvish* by Mir Muḥamad 'Ata Husain Khān *Tahsin* better known as *Muraṣṣa raqam*. The work has been edited by Dr. Nurul Hasan Hashmi. Allahabad, 1958. (No. 122).

NATHR-I-BENAZĪR
106 fol. 24. n.d.

A prose version of Mir Hasan's *Mathnavi Sihrl bayān* by Mir Bahādur 'Ali Hussaini, a senior munshi of the college of Fort William. Bahādur 'Ali finished its compilation by 1802 and the work was first published in 1803. Thereafter it was repeatedly printed. (No. 121.)

PHUL BAN
72 fol. 23cm. 1869

A love poem by Ibn Nishati. Ed. by Abdul Qadir Sarvari. Hyderabad-Dn., 1938. (No. 80).

SINGHASAN BATISI
130 fol. 24cm. 1801

A translation of the work by Mirzā Kāẓim 'Alī Javān who received an award of Rs. 200/- on the compilation of the book. Kāẓim 'Alī mentions that it was on the instance of Emperor Shahjahan that Singhasan batisi was first rendered into Bhaka from Sanskrit. The present translation is from Bhaka and is very rare.

HAFT PAIKAR
147 fol. 25cm. n.d.

An adaptation of Nizāmi Ganjavi's *Haft paikar* by Ḥaidar Bakhsh Haidari who finished its compilation in 1805.

KHWAN-I-NIMAT
90 fol. 25 cm. n.d.

A work on domestic cooking by one Ḥamiduddin of Bihar. It is also known under the title *Khwanul ikwān*. The author was awarded Rs. 100/- on this compilation (No. 30.)

KHIRAD AFROZ
389 fol. 26 cm. 1802

A translation of Abul Faḍl's '*Iyar-i-dānish*' by Maulvi Ḥafīzuddin Aḥmad, a senior munshi of the College of Fort William. Ḥafīzuddin was awarded a prize of Rs. 600/- on the compilation of the work. First pub. in 1805. (No. 118).

HAFT GULSHAN
29 fol. 24 cm. n.d.

A translation of Nāsir 'Alī Khān Vāṣṭī's Persian work *Haft Gulshan* by Maẓhar 'Alī Khān Vela who finished its compilation in 1216 A.H./1801 A.D. It is a work on general ethics and etiquette written in form of stories and fables. Ed. Ibadat Brailvi. 1964 (No. 131).

BAHĀR-I-DĀNISH: BĀGH-O-BAHĀR
197 fol. 24 cm. 1207 A.H./1792 A.D.

A masnavi poem in the meter and style of Mīr Hasan's *Sihṛul bayan* by Mirzā Jān Tapish, who mentions the title of the work as *Bāgh-o-bahār*, which serves as a chronogram to the work. Repeatedly lithographed. Asiatic Society possesses two copies of the work. (No. 755).

TARJAMA KITĀB NŪR AL-ABṢĀR
76 fol. 19 cm. n.d.

The work is also known under the title *Mukhtar nama*. It is a translation of Sayyid Ibrahim's Arabic work *Nūṛul abṣār* by Ḥātim 'Alī Mehr and narrates the events that followed the martyrdom of Imam Husain with especial reference to the acts of Mukhtar b. Ubaida al-Saqafi. Incomplete copy. (No. 419).

TARJAMA MIFTĀḤ AL-ṢALĀT
92 fol. 25 cm. 1874

A translation of Fath Muḥammad Muḥaddith Burhanpuri's Arabic work on Muslim law by Sayyid Imāmuddin 'Alī Vāiz of Delhi better known as *Faqir al-Hind*. The translator undertook the work at an advanced age of 70. An autograph copy. Condition good: (No. 3).

Seal: Nasiruddaulah Bahadur Nusrat Jang. 1180 A.H.

TARJAMA TAMHIDAT 'AIN AL-QUDDĀT
155 fol. 30 cm. 1123 A.H./1711 A.D.

A sufi treatise in Dakhni prose translated by Abdul Qadir. 1st folio is missing therefore it opens abruptly. An autograph copy. Condition: good. The title *Tamhīdāt 'Ainul quddāt* is mentioned only on the fly-leaf. An old manuscript. Remains unpublished (No. 10).

TUHFAT AL-'AWĀM
172 fol. 10.5 cm. n.d.

A religious treatise in 27 chapters written mainly for the *Athna-i-ashar-iyas*. The author does not reveal his name. Seal: Hatim Shah 1269 A.F. (No. 760).

ṬUṬI NĀMA
162 fol. 30 cm. n.d.

A poetical rendering of Ghauwasi's Ṭuṭi nāma by one Imāmuddin Muḥammad who seems to have transcribed these lines as well. (No. 81).

QIṢṢA BULAND AKHTAR ME MATHNAVI DARAHVĀL-I-KALKATTA
183 fol. 19 cm. n.d.

The mathnavi precedes the love story. According to his own statement in the preface, the author Nurkhan was first posted at Salimgarh with the Imperial army, but on the death of his father the family shifted to Lucknow and Nurkhan managed to secure a service in the court of prince Jahāndār Shah who was a great patron of art and learning.¹²

After the death of Jahandar Shah he joined the services of Nawab Āṣafuddaūlah then came down to Calcutta and submitted this work to the authorities of the College of Fort William. The story described here is the love episode of Mirza Jahāndār Shāh and princess Buhravar Bano. (No. 123).

QIṢṢA LAL-O-GAUHAR
21 fol. 20 cm. 1281 A.H./1864 A.D.

A love poem in Dakhni Urdu by one 'Ājiz, translated from a Persian work of the same title. The Persian work is appended to the translation. Stray pages of some other incomplete works are also bound together which should be separated from this volume. Scribe: Sadanand. Seal: Munavvar Ali Khan. (No. 132).

¹² Prince Jahandar Shah was the eldest son of Shah Alam II. Being disheartened by the unsettled affairs of the Delhi Estate he retired to Lucknow where he reassembled the band of scholars that had gathered around him. But unfortunately, he could not stay there for a longer time and had to shift to Banaras which became his last resting place. At Banaras he continued to patronise the men of letters even with the meagre amount of pension that he was drawing. His death dealt a heavy blow on the cultural and educational activities of the northern India. The band of scholars disintegrated. Most of them came down to Calcutta and joined the services of the College of Fort William. Mir Sher 'Ali Afsos, Mirza Jān Tapish, Khalil 'Ali Khān Ashk, Nur Khan and Ghulām Haidar 'Izzat were in the services of prince Jahandar Shah before they joined the College of Fort William. The prince died at Banaras in May 1788 at a young age of 39. He was known as Mirza Javan Bakht also.

HUSN-O-'ISHQ: QIṢṢA GUL-O-HURMUZ
121 fol. 26 cm. 1858

A prose translation of some Persian work. The translator Maulvi Ghulām Haidar 'Izzat rendered the work into Urdu in 1803 on the instance of Mr. John Borthwick Gilchrist who recommended a prize of Rs. 150/- for the book. The present copy is a transcription by Maulvi Bashīruddin Ahmad of Burdwan. One copy of the work dated 1803 in smaller size is also available in the Society's collection. The work is known under the title *Qīṣṣa Gul-o-Hurmuz* also. (No. 771).

INSHA-I-NAURATN
199 fol. 20 cm. n.d.

Selections from various love stories by Muḥammad Bakhsh Mahjur, a native of Fatehpur. The work is also known as *Hikāyāt-i-'āshiqān*. (No. 418).

JĀMI AL-AHHIAQ
193 fol. 24 cm. n.d.

A translation of Jalaluddin Muhaqqīq Davvani's Persian work *Akhlaq-i-Jalali* by Maulvi Amānatullah, a munshi of the College of Fort Willaim. Amānatullah finished the translation in 1805. Pub. ed. Calcutta, 1948. (No. 14).

GULSHAN-I-AKHLĀQ
140 fol. 20 cm. 1809

A work on general ethics by Sayyid 'Alī b. Sher 'Alī Afsos, compiled during the reign of Akbar Shah II. The work is divided into six chapters, each chapter termed as a *Gulshan*. (No. 13).

GULSHAN-I-'ISHQ
144 fol. 20 cm. 1809 ?

A versified translation of some Persian work in Dakhni Urdu. The translator does not reveal his name but praises his Patron Sulṭān 'Alī 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur highly. On the flyleaf the title is mentioned as *Qīṣṣa Manohar va Madhumalat*. (No. 75).

RISĀLA DAR HINDI
109 fol. 24 cm. 1273 A.H./1856 A.D.

A Sufi treatise by Shah Muḥammad Gesudaraz, commonly known as Khwaja Gesudaraz in Dakhni verse compiled during the reign of Aurangzib 'Ālamgir. This copy is dated 1273 A.H./1856 A.D. and contains a glossary of Dakhni words (foll. 106-109) with their meaning in Urdu. Cond: good. A rare copy. (No. 477).

SHAH NAMA
338 fol. 26 cm. 1844

A metrical version of Firdausi's Shah nama by Mulchand Lucknavi. Scribe: Akmad Beg. First Pub. Calcutta, 1846. (No. 471).

SHAH NAMA: QIṢṢA KHUSRUWĀN-I-‘AJAM
186 fol. 20 cm. 1844

A metrical translation of Firdausi's Shah nama. The translator does not reveal his name. Scribe: Data Ram Brahman. The work seems to have been compiled during the reign of Akbar Shah II. The present copy is a defective one and has been written in two different hands in cursive style. (No. 104).

SHAH NAMA-I-HINDI
381 fol. 27 cm. 1811

A prose translation of Firdausi's Shah nama by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Sayyid Nithār ‘Alī who was attached with the court of Nawab Āsafuddaulah. This translation is based on the abridged version of Shah nama called Shamshir Khani done during the time of Shahjahan. (No. 22).

TARJAMA TUḤFA
63 fol. 15 cm. n.d.

A Sufi treatise written on the instance of Sultan Faṭḥ ‘Alī Tipu in Dakhni verse. The book begins with the praise of Tipu in all reverence. The actual text begins with an account of Shk. Naṣīruddīn Maḥmūd Awadhī whom the author holds in high respect. The author, who does not reveal his name calls his book as *Tuḥfa*—probably because it is a selection of various sufi sayings and probably because it is a present to the sultan. The year of compilation has been given as 1230 Mauludi era. Pages are detached from binding and some are badly attacked by acid. Scribe: Muḥammad Rustam, who calls himself as parvarda-i sarkār-i-Khudādād. (No. 106).

The Library of Sultan Tipu was disintegrated after the fall of Srīngapatam. The best of the books and manuscripts were transferred to London. Some were deposited in the College of Fort William while some others were left at Mysore itself. Mr. Charles Stewart compiled a catalogue of those manuscripts in 1809. The Asiatic Society of Bengal also received some Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts.

IDRĀB-I-SULTĀNĪ
OR
FATḤ NĀMA-I-TIPU SULTĀN
82 fol. 20 cm. n.d.

A poetical account of the battles of Tipu with the allied powers of Marathas, Nizam, and the British, probably the 3rd Mysore war. The author reveals his name as ‘*Izzat* only—most probaly Husain ‘Alī ‘Izzat. Cond. good. Not yet published. (No. 77).

KHULAṢA-I-SULTĀNĪ
79 fol. 22 cm. n.d.

A treatise on Muslim faith and rituals in Dakhni prose by Qāḍī Ghulām Ahmad, complied under the instructions of Tipu Sultan. Pages detached from binding. (No. 5).

AHKĀM AL-NISĀ'
39 fol. 20 cm. n.d.

A tract on the observance of religious rites for Muslim women in Dakhni prose by Qāḍi Ghulām Aḥmad, compiled on the instance of the said Sultan (No. 4).

QIṢṢA BAHRAM VA GULANDM
73 fol. 32 cm. n.d.

A love poem in Dakhni Urdu by Mulla Vajhi. The work is dedicated to Sultan Abul Ḥasan Tāna Shāh of Golkunda. Many pages are either left blank or only half written. Date of compilation: 1081 A.H./1670 A.D. (No. 98).

MUHIT-I-DĀNISH
477 fol. 35 cm. 1803

A versified translation of Abul Faḍl's '*Iyar-i-dānish*' by Ram Jas *Muhit* done during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. A good piece of literature. Not yet published. (No. 467).

TARJAMA-I-QURĀN SHARIF
506 fol. 24 cm. 1804

A complete translation of the Holy Quran by Maulvi Amānatullah, Maulvi Faḍlullah and Mirza Kāzīm 'Alī Javān done under the general supervision of Mir Bahadur 'Alī Husaini. The translators received a total prize of Rs. 500/- over the compilation of the book. The translation is due to the initiative and credit of Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist.¹³ (No. 1).

BAHĀR-I-'ISHQ: TARJAMA NALDMAN
157 fol. 23 cm. 1810

A prose translation of Faiḍis Nal Daman by one Nūr 'Alī b. Nadhr 'Alī of Hooghly district. Nur 'Alī was introduced to the authorities of the College of Fort William by Kāzīm 'Alī Javān. (No. 109).

BAHR-I-'ISHQ: TARJAMA SAIF AL-MULŪK
129 fol. 24 cm. 1803

A translation of the Persian work Saiful muluk. The translator Sayyid Maṣṣūr 'Alī b. Sayyid Imām Bakhsh Husaini Musavi was introduced to the authorities of the College of Fort William by Mīr Bahādur 'Alī Husaini. Maṣṣūr 'Alī translated the work in 1803 on the instance of Dr. J. B. Gilchrist. (No. 110).

CHIRĀGH-I-IMĀN
255 fol. 23 cm. 1890

A translation of Muḥammad Yaḥya Fattāhis Persian work by 'Abdul Majīd Khān who seems to have transcribed the lines as well. The translation began in 1306 A.H. and ended two years later in 1308 i.e. 1890 A.D. Prior

¹³ For other details please see *Gilchrist aur uskā 'ahad* p. 178.

to the compilation of this work the translator had two more works to his credit, i.e. *Sharḥ-i-Iskandar nāma* and *Sharḥ qaṣā'id-i-'Urfi* both publ. by the Nawal Kishore press, Lucknow. The present copy appears to be an autograph one. (No. 825).

ḌARB AL-AMTHĀL
64 fol. 25 cm. n.d.

A work on Arabic and Persian idioms with their meanings in Urdu prominently written in red by some anonymous author. Persian idioms: fol. 1-31a; Arabic idioms: fol. 31b-64b—The work seems to have been compiled for the College of Fort William. Incomplete at the end. (No. 29).

DEH MAJLIS
85 fol. 26 cm. 1219 A.H./1804 A.D.

A work on the tragedy of Karbala by Shaikh Muḥammad Bakhsh in prose; rev by Mazhar 'Alī Khān Vela who names the work as *Gham nama-i-ayyam*. (No. 26).

DHIKR AL-SHAHĀDATAIN
151 fol. 30 cm. 1874

A translation of Husain Vāi'z Kāshifi's work on the tragedy of Karbala by Aḥmad Khān Ṣufi. Scribe: Muḥammad Yāsin. (No. 125).

QIṢṢA GULSHAN-I-HIND
66 fol. 31 cm. 1803

The popular love story of Gul-i-Sanober preceded by some Indian tales by Bāsiṭ Khān Bāsiṭ, a native of Delhi. According to the autobiographical note in the preface, Bāsiṭ Khān left Delhi at the age of five with his father Murad Khan; and shifted to Patna where his father joined the services of Maharaja Kalyan Sing. Thereafter Bāsiṭ Khān travelled to Bengal and joined the services of Nawab Mubarakuddaulah, the 4th son of Mir Jafar 'Alī Khān. Here Bāsiṭ Khān was introduced to the authorities of the college of Fort William. Dr. J. B. Gilchrist advised him to write this story in simple and lucid language. After the compilation he was awarded a prize of Rs. 70/- for the book. Condition: good. (No. 112).

HUJJAT AL-QAVI
45 fol. 15 cm. 1190 A.H./1776 A.D.

A tract on Muslim faith in Dakhni prose by Sayyid Aḥmad Qadri. Scribe: Muhd. 'Abdullah. (No. 7).

JAHĀNGIR SHĀHI
393 fol. 30 cm. n.d.

A translation of Mutamad Khān Bakhshi's *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngiri* by Mazhar 'Alī Khān Vela. This appears to be the last work of Vela. In the preface he not only gives an account of his life but enumerates his earlier compilations as well. Jahangir Shahi is a rare found work of Vela. He compiled it in 1809 and according to his own statement it was seen through by Kāẓim 'Alī Javān after its compilation. (No. 21).

JADHB-I-'ISHQ
49 fol. 20 cm. 1801

A love story by one Husain Shah compiled during the year 1204 A.H./ 1789 A.D. (No. 117).

PADMAVAT
128 fol. 21 cm. 1308 A.H.

A versified translation of Malik Muhammad Jaisi's Padmavat by Mir Diyāuddin 'Ibrat and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat. The translation was begun by 'Ibrat but since he died before its completion it was completed by 'Ishrat. (No. 95).

RISALA-I-RĀG

108 fol. 22 cm. n.d.

A work on ragas and raginis by some anonymous author in Bhaka language. The title *Risala rag* is mentioned only on the fly leaf. (No.31).

QIṢṢA-I-TURKI
178 fol. 16 cm. n.d.

An anonymous translation of some Turkish tale Though defective at both ends, the text of the story is complete. (No. 416).

TĀID AL-MUSLIMIN
FI
ATHBĀT-I-NUBUWAT-I-KHATIM AL-NIBIN
125 fol. 20 cm. n.d.

A tract in defence of the prophethood of Muḥammad (salām), written in reply to a treatise of some Christian missionary author: Taṣadduq 'Alī (No. 421).

QIṢṢA RIDWĀN SHAH VA RUḤ AFZĀ
60 fol. 22 cm. n.d.

A rare found work of Maulvi Khalil 'Alī Khān Ashk. It is a popular fiction dealing with the love story of Ridwān Shah and princess Ruḥ Afzā. This seems to be identical with *Qissa Gulzar-i-chin* noticed by Maulvi Naṣīruddin Hāshmi in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Mr. Charles Stewart noticed a Persian work of this title in the Library of Sultan Tipu of Mysore. Khalil's work appears to be a translation of this original Persian (No. 126).

“ALPAMYSH”*

A Central Asian Uzbek Turki Epic:
Different Versions, and Origin

(From the Russian)

By SURESH CHANDRA SEN GUPTA

Communicated by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
26 August 1968

I. INTRODUCTION

Alpamysh seems to be the oldest and the most popular heroic *epos* among all the oral epical productions of the Uzbek people. It is sung everywhere in Uzbekistan. Among the rich folk-lore collections of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences (in Tashkent in the Uzbek S.S.R.), there are more than ten versions of this poem. These poetic versions were executed by distinguished story-tellers of Samarkand, Bukhara, Surkhandarin, Kashkadarin, Fergana and Tashkent regions. The fullest and artistically the most complete version is that of the celebrated story-teller of our period—**Fazil Yuldash**. It was published in 1938 (the text in Turki in the Cyrillic script as modified), edited by the poet Hamid Alimjan, and it forms the basis of the translation into Russian by Lev M. Penkovsky.

The poem is divided into two parts, both closely linked through its subject matter. The first part describes the heroic contests of **Alpamysh** with his rivals for the hand of the bride **Barchin**.

Briefly the story runs thus:

Alpamysh and **Barchin** were betrothed to each other from their early age. Their fathers **Baiburi** and **Baisari** were two brothers. They were the famous Beks of the “Sixteen Generation Tribe of **Kongrat**”. For a long period they had no child, and they prayed to God for children. Baiburi was then blessed with the birth of a son and a daughter. The son was named first **Hakim Bek**, which name was later changed to **Alpamysh**, and the daughter **Kaldirgachamin**. Baisari also had a daughter born to him whom he named **Ai-Barchin** (or **Barchin**). Once the elder brother Baiburi demanded the tribute of the *Zakat* (Muslim religious dues) from Baisari. Baisari quarrelled with his brother and migrated with his daughter to the land of the **Kalmyk Mongols**.

In the Kalmyk-land the beauty of Barchin attracted the heroes of the court of the Kalmyk Shah as her suitors. They pressed her very much for

* This paper, on an important Central Asian Turkish Epic or Romantic Tale, has been adapted by the Author from the extensive Russian work by Lev M. Penkovsky (published from Moscow, 1958). The subject has its own literary, historical and cultural interest in connexion with the Altaic peoples of Eurasia. A companion paper on the Kalmyk Mongol National Epic **Jangar** has already been published by Professor Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta in the *Allahabad University Magazine*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1, November 1960, from the Russian version by Semen Lipkin (Moscow 1958). These two Epic-Romances, **Alpamysh** and **Jangar**, give a picture of the life and heroic deeds and ideals, not available elsewhere, of the two great branches of the Altaic people—the Turks and the Mongols, and they have their unique value as literature and also as social and cultural history (Suniti Kumar Chatterji).

marriage. In order to avoid the undesirable suitors, she announced four contests, and promised to marry the victor in all these contests. These four contests were (1) a horse race, (2) competition in shooting with the bow, (3) shooting at a tiny target from a long distance, and (4) wrestling.

Barchin had secret hopes that her betrothed Alpamysh would win in all these contests, and she sent him information through messengers to the land of Kongrat. Alpamysh came and found a devoted friend in **Karjan**—one of the Kalmyk heroes who were his formidable rivals. As requested by Alpamysh, in the horse-race competition Karjan rode in his place Alpamysh's famous horse **Baichirbir**. The Kalmyks all on a sudden treacherously fell on Karjan, tied him down and crippled the horse. But in spite of this Karjan won the race on behalf of his friend Alpamysh. Alpamysh himself won the other three contests after defeating his most formidable rival **Kokaldas**, and married Barchin. The newly married couple now returned home, but Barchin's father, who still was bitter against his elder brother Baiburi, stayed behind in the land of the Kalmyks.

In the second half of the story, Alpamysh, having heard that the Kalmyk Shah was oppressing his father-in-law, set out for his deliverance. Through his imprudence he fell into a deep slumber by taking too much wine, and fell into the hands of his enemies who kept him in a deep, dark underground pit for seven years. A shepherd **Kaikubliat** accidentally discovered this pit and dropped food to Alpamysh. Hearing about Alpamysh from this shepherd, the daughter of the Kalmyk Shah visited Alpamysh in his dungeon, fell in love with him, and helped him to escape. Alpamysh now killed the Kalmyk Shah and put Kaikubliat on his throne.

During the absence of Alpamysh from his land for seven years, great changes took place there. His wife Barchin gave birth to a son. His younger brother **Ultantaz** or **Ultan**, who was Baiburi's son by a concubine, seized power and became the head of the Kongrats. He was a great tyrant and oppressed the people. He ill-treated Baiburi, Kaldirgachamen, Barchin and her young son **Yadgar** and other members of the family, and pestered Barchin for a long time with a marriage proposal. He finally forcibly married her just on the eve of the return of Alpamysh.

Meanwhile Alpamysh was on his way back to his country and home. On the outskirts of his country he met with an old devoted slave of his family who tended a herd of horses, and from him he learned all these events. He now exchanged his dress with the herdsman and secretly reached home and found himself in the middle of the marriage feast of Ultan with Barchin. He delivered them all from the tyranny of Ultan by killing him. His father-in-law Baisari also now came back from the Kalmyk-land, and there was a happy reunion.

Besides the Uzbek version of Alpamysh, there are two more versions, the **Karakalpak** version and the **Kazak** version, both of which agree substantially with the Uzbek version.

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The Kongrat tribe first appeared in the Central Asian steppes during the Mongol conquests (the beginning of the XIII century). At present their descendants comprise all the heathen Turks of Central Asia. In all the three versions, the nomadic Kongrats are located in the region of Baisur (south of Uzbekistan, north of the city of Termez—the present Surkhandarin region). Here are to be sought "the pastures on the banks of the River Amu" where, according to the Uzbek poem, grazed the herds of Alpamysh.

Historical sources confirm that from the XVI century the region of Termez was the domain or principality (*Yurt*) of the Kongrat tribe who

*penetrated into South Uzbekistan in company of nomadic Uzbeks of Shaibani Khan. This fact helps us to fix the date of the Kongrat edition of the Alpamysh poem which is linked with Baisur, as the period closely following the conquests of Shaibani (XVI century). The historical background—the conflicts of Uzbeks with Kalmyks—supports this date. The theme of the fight with Kalmyks, depicted in the *epos* of the Central Asian peoples, is a historical reminiscence of the times of the Oirat (Kalmyk) nomadic state in the steppes of Dzungaria (in Western Mongolia). The cruel raids of the Kalmyks on the Central Asian steppes continued from the XV to the middle of the XVIII centuries. In the XVII century the Kalmyks dislodged the Kazaks from Semi rechia; the general headquarters of the Kalmyk Khan were established on the south bank of the River Ili, i.e. not far from the Altai range, through which Baisari and Alpamysh travelled to the land of the Kalmyks.*

The historical events of the Kalmyk wars are connected with the final fall of Chingiz Khan's Mongol empire in the XV-XVI centuries, and the empires of its closest successors—the Golden Horde on the west and Timur's empire in the east (Central Asia), and also, on these ruins with the formation of new tribal and state unions of the peoples who had been leading up to that period nomadic lives on the wide expanse of the "Kipchak steppes" from the Volga and Ural to the Isserik-kul and Tien-shan (Nogais, Kazaks, Kara-kalpaks, nomadic Uzbeks and Kirghizes). For all these peoples this epoch which is bound up with the growth of historical and state consciousness, and struggle for native nomad territory with alien aggressors and the Kalmyk conquerors, is one of the essential elements in the evolution of this popular self-consciousness, reflected in the *epos*. The chief enemies with whom the heroes in the heroic *epos* of the peoples of Central Asia fight for the defence of their land almost always seem to be "heathen Kalmyks", just like "Tatars" in the Russian *bylinas*, "Arabs" in the Christian Armenian epic of David of Sasun, and so on. Such also is the case, for example in the Kirghiz **Manash**, in the Kazak and Kara-kalpak heroic songs (**Koblandi-batya** etc.), in the historical poems of the Nogai cycle (**Urak i Mamai**) and many others.

In the Kongrat-Baisur version of "Alpamysh", the fight with Kalmyks is reflected in the subject of marriage contests of the hero Alpamysh with the Kalmyk suitor-aggressors.

"Alpamysh" was composed among the nomadic cattle-tenders, living under patriarchal tribal conditions. The *epos* preserved bright reminiscences about this. The Kongrats who in their land had no knowledge of agriculture, having come to the country of the Kalmyks, trampled upon the crops of their hosts, thinking these corn-fields as pasture-grounds. According to historical testimony, such conflicts were usual when there were settlements of nomadic Uzbeks of Shaibani Khan among the settled populations of Mawar-an-Nahar (modern Uzbekistan).

Thus it can be regarded that the latest version of "Alpamysh" in its basic features, as preserved orally by nomadic tribe of Kongrat on the historical background of conflicts between the Mongol Kalmyks and the Turki peoples of Central Asia, during the period following the invasions of Shaibani Khan (XVI century), when the Kongrats settled down in the region of Termez and Baisur. However, the ancient popular *epos*, under conditions of oral transmission through four centuries, passed through a number of successive modifications. The Baisur version of "Alpamysh" was preceded by another older version which the Kongrats brought into South Uzbekistan from their earlier nomadic period of life near the Aral Sea.

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A sixteenth century manuscript of the Turkish Oguz people, the **Dede-**

Korkud or “the Book of my Grandfather Korkud”, which was translated into Russian by V. V. Bartold in 1894, contains the story of Bamsi-Beirek son of Kam-Buri. This story agrees to some extent with Alpamysh in the subject matter and in the names of the actors. In this Oguz variant, there is no Kongrat, no localisation of the scenes at Baisun, no Kalmyks, and the marriage contest among the male suitors is replaced by a more archaic theme, the contest of the suitors with the bride herself, in riding, archery, and wrestling, the bride promising to marry the hero who would be able to defeat her in these contests.

Several variants of the Alpamysh story, are also extant among the Bashkirs and the Tatars of Kazan.

The Altai tale of **Alip-Manash** (“Hero Manash”) is the most archaic version. It was taken down by H. Ulagashev—an eminent story-teller of Altai. It is the most ancient version of “Alpamysh”, with much of mythological features. Alip-Manash goes in search of a bride for himself into a fairy-tale country from where there is no return. An old ferryman takes him across a wide river which even a winged horse cannot cross. Reaching the strange land of an enemy people, Alip-Manash at once falls into a magical sleep (in “Alpamysh” the sleep was due to intoxication—a rational cause), and he is seized by his enemies. He is invulnerable to all weapons, and his enemies keep him in an underground prison. These enemies have no historical or individual personalities. These are the malignant Ak-Khan, and the seven-headed man-eating giant Delbegen, a hero of the under-world who comes to fight on a grey bull. The only helper of Alip-Manash is his horse. This horse has superhuman intelligence, and just like his master he can change his appearance by magic. He delivers his master from his dungeon. Alip-Manash now appears in the marriage feast of his prospective bride, in the garb of a wretched and dirty man with a sorry horse. Thus the Uzbek version of the “Alpamysh” is really a later and somewhat rational re-dressing of this old *epos*.

The Altai story was composed in the most ancient homeland of the Oguz people in the foot-hills of Altai, which, according to historical evidence, was already abandoned by this nomadic tribe in the VIII-IX centuries, on their trek to Central Asia. In the IX centuries they were already at the lower reaches of Syr-Daria and on the shores of the Aral Sea. In the XI century under the Sultans of the Seljuk dynasty they seized the southern part of Trans-Caucasus and Asia Minor, where later the epic tales collected in “the Book of Dede Korkud” were written down. The preservation of these tales at Altai helps to fix the time of their emergence as VIII-IX centuries from where they were carried to the other destinations of the Oguz people.

Following “Alpamysh”, a new epic was composed, in which the central figure was Yadgar, the son of Alpamysh; and the Kazaks also composed epics based on the heroic exploits of Altai and Zhaparkul, who were grandsons of Alpamysh. There are historical events reaching up to the close of XVIII century.

The celebrated Khan Abdul Ghani of Khiva, in his famous “Genealogy

of Turkmen'' (1660), in the lower reaches of Syr Daria, pointed out a legendary grave of a girl hero Barchin from the Oguz tribe, who was the wife of Manish-bek (i.e. Alpamysh). The Uzbeks call the grave Barchin-Kek-Kasane. This is a cupola with fine architectural work. The mausoleum Kek-Kasane is not far from the ruins of the ancient town of Signak which in the X century belonged to Oguz. It was photographed in 1910 and described by the archaeologist V. Kalaur. In 1927 when Prof. A. U. Yakutovsky went to this place, he found only a shapeless heap of ruins. The ancient city of Barchin-kent (or Barchin-ili-kent) was also possibly named after Barchin. It was also located at the same place, and destroyed by the Mongol invaders during the time of Chingiz Khan (1220).

II. THE ALPAMYSH EPIC—ITS STORY ACCORDING TO THE WORK OF FAZIL YULDASH-OGHLY (YULDASHEV)

Long, long ago a certain **Daban-bii**¹ was head of the Sixteen-Generation Tribe of the Kongrats. **Alpin-bii** was his only son. Alpin-bii had two sons—**Baiburi** and **Baisari**. Baiburi who was the elder was the owner of all the lands of the Kongrats. Baisari on the other hand had his great Tabun and his herds of cattle and ten thousand *yurts*. Their country was called Baisun.²

Both the brothers were far advanced in age, and they had no children. One day they went to attend a great feast among the Kongrats, but they were not shown proper respect, and they learnt from the son of a Bai (rich lord) that this was due to their childlessness. They were naturally very much depressed, and returned home, and lay down to sleep. While they were asleep, a holy Dervish appeared before both of them in dream, and told them that soon they would be blessed with children. A year later Baiburi's wife gave birth to a son and a daughter, and Baisari had a daughter born to him. A grand feast was arranged. The Dervish, though invisible to all others, appeared before the two brothers. According to him, Baiburi's son was named **Hakim Bek**, and daughter **Kaldirgach-aim**. Baisari's daughter was given the name **Barchin-aim**. The Dervish prophesied that Hakim Bek and Barchin would be man and wife, and that he would be a great Batir (hero) whom no one would be able to conquer.

The three children grew up together. When they were three years old they were sent to school. In four years Hakim Bek learned all that the Mulla could teach him. His father now withdrew him from the school and started giving him military training. At the very start he surprised everybody by lifting up his grandfather's heavy bronze bow and shooting a distant mark with the arrow. He was now compared to Rustam, and given the new name **Alpamysh**, by which he became popular.

One day while conversing with his son Alpamysh, Baiburi heard that in Islam a tribute called the *zakat* was collected by the ruler for religious purposes. He at once demanded this tribute from his younger brother Baisari, who was so much shocked by this demand that he decided to leave his native country and migrate with his whole family and followers to the land of the Kalmyks. Barchin felt very keenly her sudden separation from home, but she could do nothing. In a few days the whole party set out on their nomadic journey in search of new pastures and places of settlement, in the Kalmyk-land. They spent six months in their journey and crossed ninety mountains, and at last reached the land of Taicha Khan, the ruler

¹ The word 'bii' literally means 'a judge'.

² A locality in South Uzbekistan.

of the Kalmyks. Baisari's followers being nomadic cattle-breeders had no knowledge of settled agriculture, and they allowed the cattle to eat up all harvest on the fields, thinking it to be some kind of grass. They now halted and established their *yurts* in the steppes of Chilbirchol, by the side of the lake Aina-kol, grazing their cattle all around.

The Kalmyks, finding the havoc done to their crops, complained to their Shah who ordered the arrest of Baisari. His executioners seized Baisari and found out that he had no idea of his guilt, because he had no idea of agriculture. The Shah took a lenient view of the matter and asked his people that as it was very early in the season, they could easily raise a second crop on the field, which he promised not to take. This pleased the people. Baisari was permitted to stay where he had fixed this ten thousand *yurts*.

Seven years passed. Baisari and his followers were now living prosperously in their settlement. Barchin grew up into a great beauty and attracted the notice of many Kalmyk *Batirs* (fighters or heroes). There was an old Kalmyk widow **Surkhail** by name. She was of a very scheming nature and was often called a witch. She had seven sons, all of them great *Batirs*; the eldest son was named **Kokaldas** and the youngest, **Karajan**. All these seven *Batirs* were the cream of the 90-man team of *Batirs* serving the Kalmyk Shah. Surkhail wanted Barchin for her youngest son Karajan and went to pay a visit to the *Yurt* of Baisari and had a talk with the mother of Barchin. She was told that Barchin had already been betrothed to her cousin Alpamysh who was also a great *Batir*. Surkhail came back very much annoyed, and all the *Batirs* of the Kalmyk Shah heard this news, and all of them wanted to marry Barchin. They disputed over it for long and then settled that either all of them would marry Barchin or Barchin would select one among them as her husband. So they all went in a body to Baisari and told him of their decision, and threatened to take the girl by force if Baisari was not agreeable to their proposal. Baisari left the matter to Barchin as she was already fourteen years old. Barchin prayed for six months' time, after which she agreed to accede to their proposal. The *Batirs* agreed and went away. Barchin now sent ten swift riders to Baisuri with a letter to Alpamysh. These messengers took three months' time to reach Baisuri, and as Alpamysh was not at home handed the letter to Baiburi who opened the letter and read the contents. He was not at all favourably disposed towards his brother. He was also reluctant to allow Alpamysh to go to their help. So he dismissed the messenger with a reply that Alpamysh would not be allowed to go to deliver Barchin, and kept the letter in a casket without telling anybody about it. A few days later Kaldirgach while cleansing her father's room found the letter inside the casket, read it and at once sent for Alpamysh, and when he turned up urged him to start at once to rescue Barchin. Alpamysh disregarded his father's remonstrances, and assisted by **Kaldirgach** and their old keeper of horses **Kultai**, chose the swiftest horse **Baichirbar** from the stable, and set out on his journey. Soon he overtook the messengers of Barchin on the way, and leaving them behind, and galloping day and night, came after many days one evening in front of a *Mazar* or shrine in the midst of a desert. Here he wanted to stop overnight. He soon found shelter for himself and his horse, and fell asleep and dreamt that Barchin was sitting nearby talking to him and offering him a cup of wine. Barchin also at the same time saw Alpamysh in a dream and told her maids about the dream.

Early next morning, Alpamysh resumed his journey, and one evening came across a shepherd Kaikubat by name who was in the employ of his uncle Baisari. **Kaikubat** recognised Alpamysh and offered him food and lodging for the night. Alpamysh now had a second vision of Barchin in

dream, while Barchin also had a similar vision which assured her about the arrival of her hero.

Alpamysh set out again in the morning. He was now not very far from his destination. He now rode up a steep hill and had a far-away view of the ten thousand *yurts* of his uncle Baisari. He got down from Baichirbar and lay down on the crest of the hill. Meanwhile the Kalmyk Batir, Karajan, who also had seen and made friends with Alpamysh in a dream, wandered to the spot where Alpamysh was lying. They talked to each other and liked each other very much. They now planned to work together as friends. Karajan took Alpamysh to his house and entertained him sumptuously, to the great annoyance of Surkhail and the other Batirs. Alpamysh now sent Karajan riding Baichirbar to meet Barchin and to inform her of his arrival.

Meanwhile the six-month period was over, and the Kalmyk Batirs came to Barchin clamouring for her hand. Barchin now announced that she would marry any one of her suitors who could win four contests. The first was a very long horse-race, the second was a shooting competition with bows and arrows, the third was the shooting of a silver coin at a distance of one thousand paces, with a gun, and the fourth was a wrestling match.

The horse race took place first. The task before the competitors was to ride up to the hills of the Babakhan mountains and ride back to the starting point—it was really a ride of 45 days. In all 490 riders took part in the contest. Karajan was riding Baichirbar, representing Alpamysh. The Kalmyk Batirs were already very much annoyed with Karajan who had not only deserted them but also had embraced Islam. So when they reached the foot-hill, they treacherously fell on Karajan, tied him up, injured Baichirbar by driving nails into the hoofs, and set out for the return journey leaving Karajan in a hopeless condition. But after some time Karajan managed to free himself with difficulty and after attending to the wounds of his horse started the return journey. Baichirbar at first limped, but soon recovered sufficiently and in the long run out-stripped all the other competitors and reached the goal first.

In the second contest, Alpamysh lifted the very heavy bow of his grandfather and sent an arrow which covered the greatest distance of all. In the third contest Alpamysh shot the silver coin with his gun, standing at a distance of one thousand paces while others failed to send their shot even five hundred paces.

In wrestling also Alpamysh proved his supremacy. One after another the Kalmyk Batirs were killed, and Kokaldas the great acknowledged leader of the Kalmyk Batirs was lifted up and thrown down so violently that he perished at once.

Alpamysh thus won all the four contests, and married Barchin. He then set out for Baisuri, his native land, with his friend Karajan and all the Kongrat people except his uncle and father-in-law Baisari who stayed behind, because the behaviour of Baiburi still rankled in his heart.

The destruction of the Kalmyk Batirs had greatly annoyed the Kalmyks. Surkhail now excited the Shah to take revenge on Alpamysh. The Shah sent an army to intercept and kill him, but Alpamysh and Karajan slew the army and resumed their journey and reached the Kongrat country to the great joy of Baiburi and the people. Alpamysh now became the ruler.

Baisari now lived in the land of the Kalmyk with his wife and a few attendants. The Kalmyk people took him to be the cause of all their misery and wreaked vengeance on him. They oppressed him very much, looted his cattle, beat him and dragged him before the Shah who confiscated all his cattle but spared his life, and made him the caretaker of the confiscated cattle. Baisari was very unhappy, and once when he found a caravan going

towards his native country of Baisuri he sent a message about his plight to his brother and other relations. Baiburi was however reluctant to part with Alpamysh, but Alpamysh was moved by the tears of Barchin, and on the plea of going out on a hunting expedition, he set out with forty of his Beks to rescue and bring back his uncle. They crossed a mountain and entered the country of the Kalmyks. But they were sighted by the malignant widow Surkhail who had been living in the desert land in a big building with forty maids, in anticipation of meeting and wreaking her vengeance on Alpamysh. Alpamysh now came across her and asked her why she was living there with her maids. She told him that she had been very much offended with the Kalmyk Shah and wanted to live away from him. She now invited Alpamysh and his companions to accept her hospitality. They agreed. They were given great welcome and given drugged wine which made them all unconscious. Surkhail now set fire to the house killing all but Alpamysh who was not touched by the fire. The Shah now came and found Alpamysh dead asleep, and tried to cut off his head, but no weapon could cut or pierce him. So according to the advice of Surkhail, a very deep pit was dug there by the side of the Mural-tube hill and Alpamysh was thrown down into the pit.

A rumour was now spread all around that Alpamysh was dead. When this news reached Barchin, she was prostrate with grief, and she gave birth to a son who was named **Yadgar**. Taking advantage of the false rumour **Ultantaz** or **Ultan**, a son of Baiburi by a concubine slave-girl, now usurped all power and became ruler of Baisuri. He greatly oppressed Baiburi and other relations. Kaldirgach had to leave her house, and took up the life of a cattle-grazer looking after some camels in the neighbouring foothills. Barchin was strongly pressed with a marriage proposal, from Ultans and the behaviour of Ultan became worse day after day.

When Alpamysh regained consciousness inside the pit he remembered everything and was greatly distressed. For a long time he sat in the pit. One day a flying goose suddenly fell down into the pit, and Alpamysh noted that one of its wings was injured. He nursed the bird carefully, and when it recovered fully, put a letter under its wing and set it free. It flew up and went far away. One day it came down and sat in a field. A young lady was walking nearby holding a small boy by the hand. The boy rushed towards the goose, the goose flew up and the letter which was fixed inside its wing fell on the ground. The young lady who was none other than Kaldirgach, picked up the letter and read it. She at once communicated with Karajan who also was now a wanderer in the fields. Karajan immediately set out for the rescue of his friend. With great difficulty he located the pit and dropped a silk rope to pull out Alpamysh. Alpamysh however had no desire to be dragged up by Karajan in this way, for he thought that this type of rescue would tarnish his character as a hero. He therefore made some resistance by pressing along the side walls of the pit, so that Karajan could not haul him up. He now requested Karajan to leave him and go away, and pressed him so much that he had to agree reluctantly. He went back to Kaldirgach, told her everything and they decided to keep the matter secret for fear of Ultan.

In the Kalmyk land, the Shah had presented to his daughter **Tabka-aim** a *bazar* known as *Angibazar*. She frequently visited the *bazar* with her maids and made purchases. One day she purchased a snow-white goat with very long hair, and put it in charge of one Kaikubat who was looking after the sheep of the Shah. Kaikubat fell in love with Tabka. One day the goat strayed far away and fell into the pit where lay Alpamysh. Kaikubat came to the mouth of the pit, and saw the goat and a man below. He addressed the

man, who at once recognised his voice. Alpamysh and Kaikubat thus came in contact. Kaikubat now everyday dropped a sheep inside the pit to feed Alpamysh. Meanwhile Alpamysh learnt from Kaikubat about his love for Tabka-aim, and made a plan for his rescue. He prepared some flute-like musical instrument from the bones of the sheep and sent them to the *Angi-bazar* through Kaikubat, and he sent one specially prepared musical instrument to Tabka-aim through Kaikubat. The Shah's daughter was very curious to meet the manufacturer of the flute, and when she heard from Kaikubat that it was Alpamysh, she at once came to the mouth of the pit, saw Alpamysh below and fell in love with him. She now secretly had an underground tunnel made from a chamber of her house up to the bottom of the pit—a task which took a very long time. When the tunnel was complete she started visiting Alpamysh. The tunnel was so spacious that she could walk straight throughout, but it was too narrow for Alpamysh.

Now it happened so that one day the widow Surkhail paid a visit to Tabka's house, and accidentally stepped upon the carpet covering the entrance of the tunnel. She now discovered the underground passage and walking through came to the pit and found Tabka-aim and Alpamysh sitting side by side talking. As soon as they saw her Alpamysh asked Tabka to catch Surkhail who now started running back. As the tunnel was too narrow for Alpamysh, he could not enter it, and Tabka-aim could not catch Surkhail. Alpamysh now enquired from Tabka if her father had in his stable, his horse Baichirbar. She told her that she had heard of a horse which was kept under strict confinement there. So Alpamysh gave her a handful of fragrant hay to be placed before the nostril of the horse and release it. As soon as she put the hay before the horse, it jumped up vigorously, broke all chains and went out of the stable and flew up and stopped at the mouth of the pit, and neighed. It now heard the voice of Alpamysh, and dropped its tail inside which grew longer and longer till it reached Alpamysh who grasped it and came out of the pit.

Meanwhile Surkhail rushed to the Shah and disclosed the whole plot. The Shah now sent an army of sappers to fill up the pit with boulders of stone so that Alpamysh might live buried under them inside the pit. But when the army arrived Alpamysh was already free. He alone now overcame the whole army of the Shah, killed the Shah, and the wicked lady Surkhail, put Kaikubat on the throne of the Kalmyk land and gave him as his wife the Shah's daughter Tabka-aim. Then he set out for his country. On his way to Baisuri he came across a caravan and learnt all the news. He came to a *Tabun* which was under a young *Tabun* keeper who was the son of Kultai. He also came across his sister Kaldirgach in a shabby dress, tending camels. He did not reveal himself to her. He now rode farther and met Kultai to whom he at once confided himself. The old shepherd was very glad to see Alpamysh. From Kultai Alpamysh heard what Ultan was doing. They together now drew out a plan of action. He now changed his dress with Kultai and appeared at the court of Ultan as the old shepherd and saw with his own eyes how Ultan was terrorising everybody. Barchin however was not deceived. She recognised him but gave no sign of recognition, but she told Yadgar that his father was back. The day of the marriage feast came and with it came Kultai dressed in Alpamysh's dress, and riding Baichirbar. Alpamysh now revealed himself. People rushed to meet him. He now put the usurper in chains and later tried and executed him. He sent for Karajan and treated him with great honour and friendship. Meanwhile his uncle Baisari also returned to Baisuri to pass his old days in peace. There was now great rejoicing all over the Kongrat-land.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN SOME IMPORTANT ORGANS OF THE BODY IN ALLOXAN DIABETES

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AND
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SUMMARY

Not only the cell islets of Langerhans of the pancreas but also the thyroid, adenohypophysis, adrenal cortex, kidneys and liver are found to undergo histopathological changes by the cytotoxic action of alloxan in dogs, rendered diabetic experimentally by its administration. In such a condition cells secreting "Stress" hormones of different endocrine organs are found to be active but damages to other cells appear to be lasting or permanent except in the liver.

INTRODUCTORY

The well known classical experiments of "diabetic puncture" by Claude Bernard in 1855 and pancreatectomy by von. Mering and Minkowsky in 1889 are two very important landmarks for elucidation of the cause of the long time-honoured disease, diabetes. More than fifty years later on, Young¹ found that injection of anterior pituitary extract also caused diabetes in normal animals and Cooks and Sheehan² as well, showed that injection of purified growth hormone of the anterior pituitary could produce typical pituitary diabetes in dogs and cats. But Dunn *et al*³ demonstrated that alloxan(NH.CO.NH.CO.CO.CO), the ureide of mesoxalylic acid, which is a product of oxidative break down of uric acid, caused diabetes in animals due to a selective action on the pancreatic cell-islets, causing necrosis of the beta cells in particular. Kennedy and Lukens⁴ and also Duff and Starr⁵ noticed hydropic changes in the islets in alloxan diabetes in rabbits.

In all the above mentioned types of experimental diabetes as reviewed by Duff,⁶ diabetes is due to ultimate necrosis and degeneration of the β -cells but stages leading to it vary as pointed out by Goldner⁷ who noted that in spite of the common symptoms of hyperglycemia, glycosuria, polyx~~ia~~ia, polyphagia, polydypsia, loss of weight and sometimes ketonuria and acide-mia, early histopathological changes in the pancreas are quite different in alloxan diabetes and human diabetes mellitus. In the former a preliminary hyperglycemia (temporary) is produced by insulin leaving the rapidly degenerated β -cells which is followed by a severe and often total hypoglycemia and later on after several hours the permanent and final hyperglycemic phase ensues, which according to Goldner and Gomori,⁸ none of the procedures as fasting, fat-feeding or insulin therapy as were used by Lukens and Dohan⁹ to protect the remaining islet tissue of partially depancreatized animals or dogs made diabetic by injection of anterior pituitary extract, could protect against the effects of alloxan.

The necrotic condition of the β -cells of the pancreas with intact cells has been noticed by various workers, such as Kennedy and Lukens⁴, Duff

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*et al*⁵ and others. Lukens¹⁰ also observed that administration of a single dose of alloxan (50 mg. per Kg. of body weight) intravenously led to pathological changes in the β -cells within a few minutes and after some days these cells may have completely disappeared and the most probable inference is that both undiminished production of glucagon by α -cells which according to Boyd¹¹, is an insulin-antagonist itself and an important etiological factor in the pathogenesis of diabetes mellitus, and deficiency of insulin secretion by the necrotic β -cells, very likely act together to produce intractable and resistant hyperglycemia and consequent glycosuria. But it is also a known fact that pathological changes in other endocrine glands like adenohypophysis, adrenal cortex and thyroid gland with hypersecretion of G.H., glucocorticoids and thyroxine respectively may also sometimes act as diabetogenic factors, either alone or in combinations of twos with deficiency of insulin. Similarly two other important organs, the liver and the kidneys connected with the metabolism of carbohydrate and reabsorption of glucose respectively are also likely to help hyperglycemia and consequent glycosuria by pathological changes in them (Ruch and Fulton¹²). Boyd¹¹ also mentions some such pathological changes in the kidneys in juvenile diabetes mellitus.

Up till now only the pathological changes in the pancreas of alloxanized animals have been studied in details and Ruch and Fulton¹² also mention some pathological changes in the liver and kidneys too, after injections of alloxan. But no work has been done as yet to study the histopathological changes, if any, in other important organs, especially the endocrine glands in connection with the regulation of the carbohydrate metabolism, after injection of a cytotoxic chemical agent like alloxan. So the present work was taken up with a view to study the histopathological changes, if any, in some of the important organs of the body of alloxanized dogs.

EXPERIMENTAL METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

Four adult male dogs weighing 7.5, 7.85, 7.9 and 8.1 Kg. respectively were kept under observation on a normal diet for two weeks. During the second week fasting blood sugar level as well as the ebb and flow of the post-prandial blood sugar levels every hour up to the fifth hour were noted down every day. Then they were all rendered diabetic by I. V. injection of alloxan, 50 mg. per kilo body weight. There was a rise of blood sugar levels fasting and post-prandial, in all the animals almost immediately, as will be evident from the table (next page) showing glucose content of the blood of the four animals, as compared to the average of the four normals, on the second day after the injections.

The estimation of the blood sugar, both fasting and post-prandial at every hour up to the 5th after food was done every week once on a particular day for one month and almost the same levels with variations within 10 mg only were noticed every time. Never was fasting level less than 200 mg and post-prandial less than 230 mg, highest being 300 mg per 100 cc of the blood and the urinary sugar also ranged from 2.5 to 4 p.c.

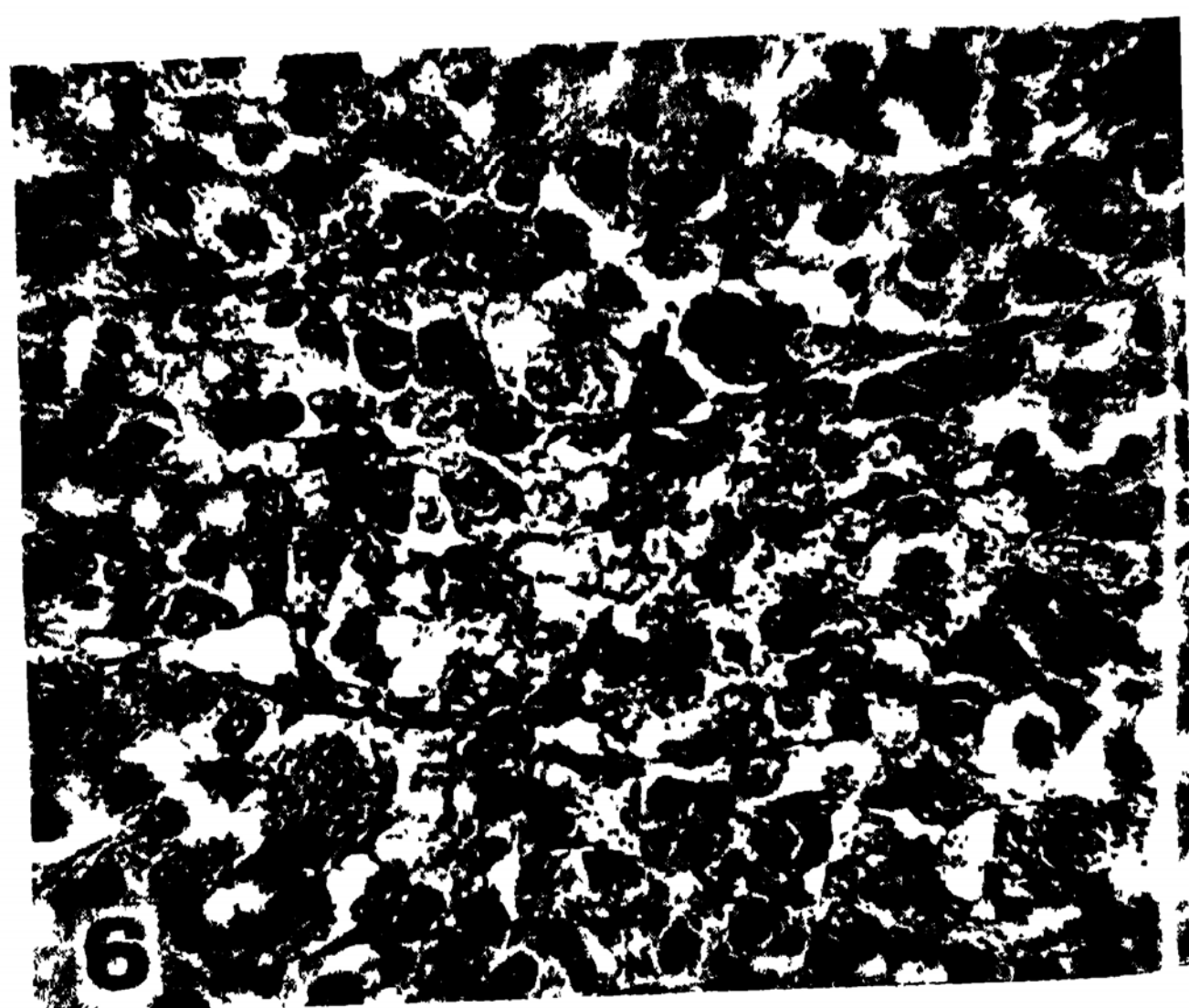
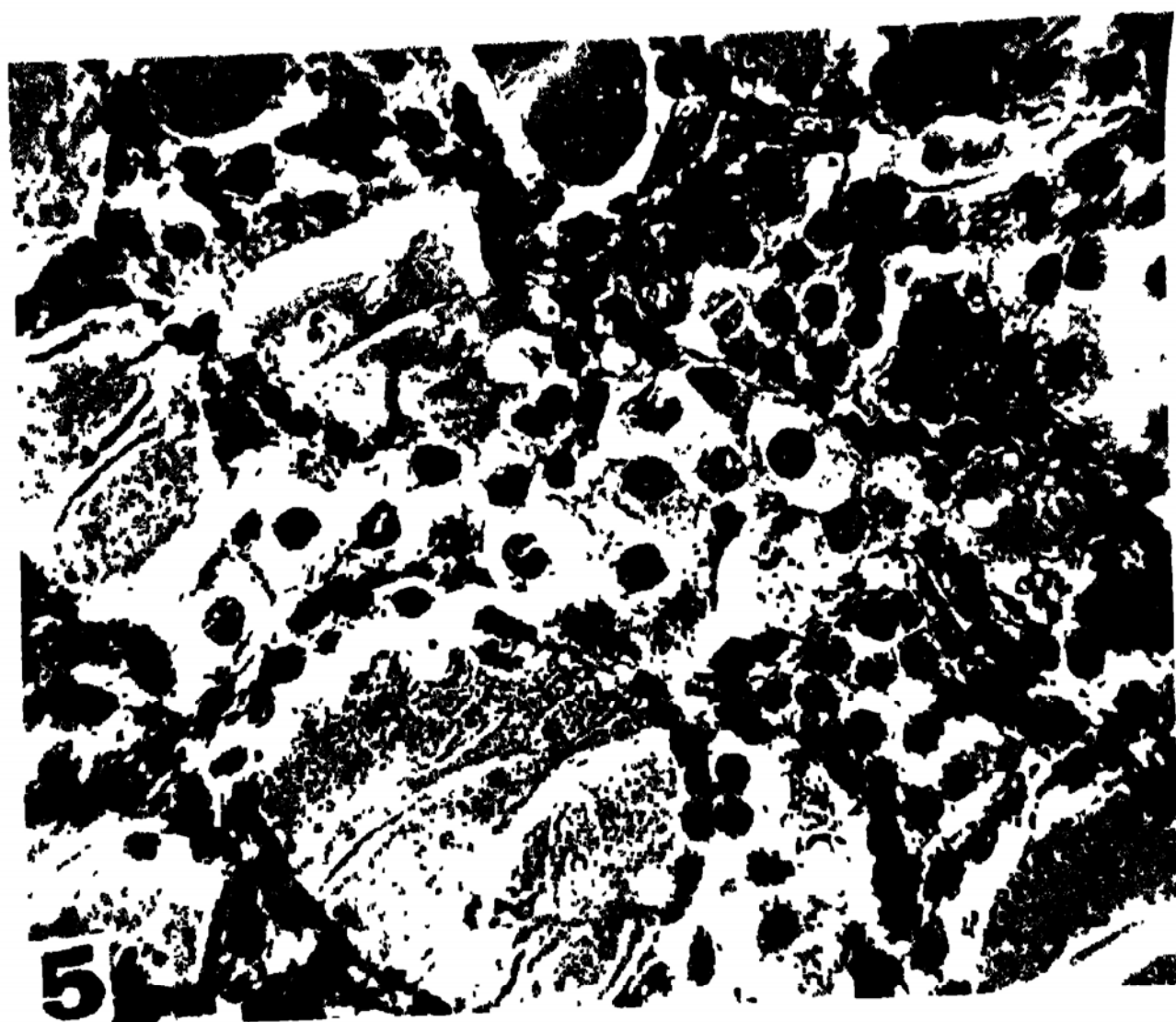
After one month they were all killed and the important organs such as (1) pancreas, (2) kidney, (3) liver, (4) pituitary (anterior), (5) adrenal cortex, and (6) thyroid gland were taken out for histopathological studies.

Paraffin sections of the tissues were suitably stained, ordinarily by Gomori technique for all, trichrome combined with Gomori technique for adenohypophysis and for staining of fat in the liver and kidneys, Goran's technique was used.









TABLE

(SHOWING GLUCOSE CONTENT PER 100 CC. OF BLOOD; BY HADGEDORN-JENSEN METHOD)

Animals	Fasting level (mg.)	Post-prandial levels (mg.)				
		1st hr.	2nd hr.	3rd hr.	4th hr.	5th hr.
Average of the four normals	90	130	150	105	90	90
Dog. No. 1 (alloxanized)	220	300	280	260	250	240
Do. No. 2	210	280	250	245	245	240
Do. No. 3	230	265	255	245	240	240
Do. No. 4	225	265	260	250	245	235
Average of the four alloxanized dogs	221	277.5	261	250	245	239

HISTOPATHOLOGICAL STUDY

(1) *Pancreas*: β -cells of the cell-islets of Langerhans show necrosis with hydropy but α -cells are not affected. Some of the islets are surrounded by thickened reticular tissue. Besides hydropy some of the β -cells also showed pyknosis, karyorrhexis and karyolysis.

(2) *Kidney*: Glomeruli show disintegration of the tufts and some rupture or partial separation of the loops with disquamated epithelial cells and red blood corpuscles lying free in the capsular spaces, which were also noticed in the convoluted tubules. Some of them appear to be hazy with strongly fuchsinophilic droplets while others show dilated spaces with flat cell-lining. The lumen of some is diminished with fibroblastic changes. Some granular and blood casts are also seen inside some of them but nowhere is there marked round cell infiltration. Some of the lining cells of the convoluted tubules show much accumulation of fat and in some cases the droplets actually found their way into the lumen by rupture of the lining cells.

(3) *Liver*: In the central zone some cells show coarse granules with vacuoles in the cytoplasm. The nuclei of the cells are disintegrated with chromatin pigment floating in the cytoplasm which is strongly acidophilic. In the mid zone majority of the cells are normal except some vacuolated ones which are also noticed even in the peripheral zone also. Dilated sinusoids in the central zone where cell destruction is prominent, contain shreds of eosinophilic material but in the peripheral zone sinusoids are much less dilated, all pointing to a patchy parenchymal degeneration with cloudy swelling and granulation with a fair attempt for repair.

(4) *Adrenal Cortex*: Zona glomerulosa shows some cells without nuclei and some cells with pyknotic ones, with hemorrhagic patches here and there. Zona fasciculata with normal trabecular pattern shows distension with clear fluid and absence of characteristic lipid granules. Some vacuolation is also noticed with nuclei of the cells pushed towards the periphery. The appearance of the zona reticularis appears to be normal with its load of lipid granules. Mitotic divisions of some of the cells are also noticed.

(5) *Thyroid*: There are big vesicles with infolding proliferation of the epithelium and scanty colloid material inside the lumen. The inter-vesicular cells also appear to be hyperplastic with hyperactivity.

(6) *Adenohypophysis*: shows degenerative changes with pyknotic nuclei in the cells and increased vacuolation. The proportionate number of the chromophobe and chromophil cells (on the average of 16 cell counts) is 50:50 as against normal average of 48:52 but there is an increase in the percentage of α -cells over β -cells, the ratio being 29:21 as against 15:35 (normal).

DISCUSSION

Experiments in our hands corroborate the findings of Dunn *et al*³, Kennedy and Lukens⁴, Duff and Starr⁵ and others regarding necrotic and hydropic degeneration by selective cytotoxic action of alloxan on the β -cells of the cell-islets of Langerhans of the pancreas leaving the α -cells in tact. The so-called hydropic degeneration showing glycogen infiltration may not always be due to the cytotoxic effect, as Toreson¹³ noticed the same sometimes in the pancreas in human and experimental diabetes mellitus. Boyd^{11a} also mentions about similar hydropic degeneration (with glycogen infiltration) in the β cells of the pancreas of some advanced cases of diabetes mellitus.

The kidney tubules were also definitely affected by this chemical toxin, probably interfering with the reabsorption of glucose. The liver cells also shared some of the degenerative changes but being one of the resistant organs to counteract the toxins, there are indications of an attempt to repair on the part of the cells.

The adenohypophysis besides disruptive changes shows a preponderance of the α -cells which according to Copenhaver¹⁴, caused increased secretion of growth hormone (G.H.). The hyperplastic and hyperactive condition of the thyroid gland as also of the zona fasciculata of the adrenal cortex are manifestations to counteract "stress" due to alloxan as a toxin. So it is not unlikely that unimpeded glucagon secretion by the α -cells of the cell-islets of Langerhans being not at all affected (in the absence or extreme deficiency of insulin secretion), which according to Lukens¹⁰ is the root cause of intractable hyperglycemia in alloxan diabetes, is also helped by more thyroxine and gluco-corticoid secretion by the thyroid and adrenal cortex respectively. Hence probably both specific selective cytotoxic action on the pancreas (as opined by Dunn *et al*³ and others) and (probably) combined action of the adenohypophysis-thyroid-adrenal cortex axis for combating the stress due to alloxan, are responsible for intractable hyper-glycemia and glycosuria in alloxanized animals.

The cytotoxic effects are also noticeable to a large extent in the kidneys and the liver and to some extent on other organs as zona glomerulosa of the adrenal cortex, thyroid gland and adenohypophysis. The kidneys and the liver have to bear the brunt to a great extent and so experimental diabetes in animals produced by alloxan, differs materially from pancreatic diabetes in which such toxic effects are not usually found except in some extreme cases of juvenile diabetes, where according to Boyd¹¹ the kidneys may sometimes show some pathological changes.

The liver itself being a detoxicating organ, in its effort to detoxicate the toxicity of alloxan, probably also falls a prey to it to some extent but due to its self-recuperative power, attempts at the repair of some of the damages caused to its structure, which is evident on the study of the section of this gland from an alloxanized dog.

CONCLUSION

1. Alloxan is not only a specific selective toxin for the β -cells of the cell-islets of Langerhans of the pancreas but also is a general cytotoxic agent.

2. The intractable and persistent hyperglycemia and consequent glycosuria are probably contributed to by the following factors:

- (i) Failure of the secretion of the β -cells of the pancreas,
- (ii) Unimpeded secretion of glucagon by the α -cells of the same gland,
- (iii) More gluco-corticoid secretion by the adrenal cortex,
- (iv) More thyroxine secretion by the thyroid gland,
- (v) More secretion of GH by the increased number of α -cells of the adenohypophysis,
- (vi) Damage to the kidney tubules interfering with reabsorption of glucose.

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USURY IN MEDIEVAL MITHILA BASED ON VIDYAPATI'S LIKHNAVALI

SHANKAR KUMAR JHA

Likhnavali is one of those less known works of poet Vidyapati which is a faithful chronicle of the age. It throws immense light on the Socio-economic institutions of the medieval Mithila. The work is an exercise in models of letter writing in Sanskrit. It provides, according to one authority¹ models of 89 (eighty nine) letters in all—18 being forms of letters written by inferior to the superior, 28 models of superior writing to inferior and seven models of equal writing to equal, the rest being letters describing local usages and conditions. I gather from the Librarian of the Kameshwar Singh Sanskrit University, Darbhanga that this book was printed during the last decade of the last century at the Union Press², Darbhanga. Unfortunately no copy is available there. Professor Rama Nath Jha³ has in his possession fragments of the book, beginning from page 25 with the middle of letter no. 38 to page 48 which ends at the middle of form no. 78. These pages were kindly lent to me by Professor Jha. The Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad, Patna, has got a transcription of the same book which seems to be genuine for the forms of letter given there tally with those in the printed fragments available with Professor Rama Nath Jha. I learnt from the late Mm Dr. Umesh Mishra that he possesses the complete book. In fact, he has referred to the forms of letters in his book⁴. My own study is based on the copy of the Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad and the printed pages in possession of Professor Rama Nath Jha.

TREATMENT OF USURY IN THE LIKHNAVALI

In the Likhnavali we get a tell-tale picture of the economic institution of usury. Vidyapati in the Likhnavali has given some startling evidences of usury. He has used the term 'sodai' for with interest. In various letters he has shown that usury backed by social usage and the gram panchayat existed with callous indifference of the state towards the institution. Loans were mostly taken for domestic urgency like daughter's marriage⁵, for business investment⁶ and for agricultural purposes.⁷ Loans were to be advanced on the guarantee of the surety or surities. On the basis of one of his letters we get the picture of prevailing types of surety⁸. They were of three kinds (1) *Darsakolagnaka* (one who would undertake the responsibility to show or point out the debtor not to pay in time) (2) *Pratykelagnaka* (one who would undertake the responsibility of getting the required sum recovered

¹ MM Dr. Umesh Mishra in VIDYAPATI THAKUR—Hindustan Academy, Allahabad—1960.

² This press is known today as the Darbhanga Raj Press.

³ Maithili representative of the Sahitya Academy. He is the head of the Deptt. of Maithili, University of Bihar.

⁴ VIDYAPATI THAKUR—pp. 67-70—Hindustan Academy, Allahabad.

⁵ Likhnavali Letter no. 70 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 71 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 72 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 61 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

from the debtor) (3) *Datrilagnaka* (one who would agree to pay the required amount himself in case the debtor fails to pay). Incidentally this classification and this institution of surety which was accepted in Mithila was based on the *Sākshi-Prakarana* of Yāgñavalkya specially his *Mitākshra Bhasya* wherein is contained an elaborate treatment of this aspect of loans. That the rates of interest as well as the modes of payment were to be guided by the social usage and the council of the village elders who, alas ! were no less callous in accepting this institution can be inferred by two of the letters of the Likhnavali. In one letter⁹ it is clearly mentioned that following the local customary practice (*Loka Vivahar Pariprapta Kala*) no interest was charged for the first four months following which interest at the rate of four *pannas* per *tanka* per month would be charged. In another the verdict of the Panchayat (*Panchayat Nirnaya*)¹⁰ is quoted in support of the creditor which had ordered for the payment of the double of the principal amount lent to be payable to the creditor (*Dwiguni kritrima*). Loan transactions were expected to have the witnesses to testify the terms of the contract.¹¹ That cash loans would have been advanced against the cattle pledged with the creditor or against the gold and valuable metals can also be inferred from these letters.

In one letter one debtor is shown pledging his bullock, cow along with the calf to be used by the creditor with the creditor for the loan of three *tankas* only¹². In another¹³ one debtor is depicted as pawning ten *tolas* of gold for a loan of thirty *tankas* at the interest rate of 4 *pannas* per *tanka* per month.

TYPES OF LOANS AND INTEREST

Exorbitantly high rates of interest were in vogue which can be proved by the various letters of the Likhnavali. The system of "*Sapadika*" mentioned in two letters clearly leads us to the conclusion that $\frac{1}{4}$ of the principal amount lent was to be collected as interest next year.¹⁴ The creditor would possibly have charged even higher interest rate if the debtors need for money would have been pressing for we find in one letter that a certain Brahmin took a loan at the rate of six *pannas* per *tanka* per month for his daughter's marriage.¹⁵ Six *pannas* for each *tanka* per month was charged as interest¹⁶. No less exacting were the terms of the loan taken for the business purposes for in one letter we find the terms of the contract as one "*Sibaksh*" per *tanka* on the principal amount and three *Shibaksha*" per *tanka* on the profit of the amount¹⁷. The different systems of payment of the interest such as '*Mola*' '*Khepi*' and '*Addhi*' used in the Likhnavali in connection with the various

⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 68 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 66 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 68 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹² *Ibid.*, Letter no. 76 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 75 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter nos 61 & 69 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 70 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 70 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 71 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

types of loan and their mode of payment all lead us to believe in the existence of usury. The creditor used to get kind payment by way of interest under '*Mola Vyvastha*' as we find in one of the letters wherein the creditor was to get ten '*Khari*' (little less than a maund) paddy at the time of the harvest against ten *tankas*¹⁸. Against a loan of three *tankas* only the creditor could get a cow whose milk he could milch and bullocks with which he could plough the land¹⁹. Thus it is evident that the debtors an average citizen in all possibility would always have been a debtor & were exploited at the hands of the Shylock who used to get, so to say, every pound of flesh for the money lent.

NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE STATES

Unfortunately the State did not think it its duty to control this serious economic malady. The State was obviously wedded to the concept of a negative state where it was only a passive onlooker of this institution of usury. Laissez-faire attitude held the scene with the result that "where wealth accumulated men decayed." To those who may be inclined to disbelieve these examples of the Likhnavali as holding good for the entire geographical area of the Mithila or of the period as a whole, we can point out the statement of a famous contemporary Amir Khusroo. Amir Khushroo believed that "probably the interest on big sums was 10% per annum and 20% per annum on small sums²⁰." "That the state had maintained callous indifference to this evil socio-economic institution is also borne out by the history of the period as a whole²¹. In matters concerning money lending the state apparently had very little responsibility and interfered in extreme cases." The respect for free contracts probably kept back the state from interfering too often and too much in loan transactions. Another possible explanation could be that the state was indifferent to this question because the *Smriti* writers had sanctioned the various forms of the rates of interest which were in vogue then. The *Chukra-Briddhi* interest of which we get illustration in the Likhnavali was one of the six kinds of interests mentioned and approved in the legal works. The elaborate treatment given to the problem by Narada and Brihaspati can be presumed to have condoned usury as a necessary evil. But the consequences of the state apathy towards ever-growing indebtedness were disastrous.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 72 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter no. 76 of the Likhnavali (Copy Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad & printed text with Professor R. Jha.)

²⁰ Aspects of medieval Indian Culture by P. N. Ojha—150.

²¹ *Ibid.*

BHĪMA IN INDONESIA

MRS. RAJESHWARI GHOSH

When Hinduism with its melange of gods and goddesses, rituals and incantations reached the Indonesian archipelago it did not displace the local religion but was absorbed by it. The Indian ideas were converted by the local genius to suit their own particular tastes and beliefs and were shaped and moulded nearer to their heart's desire, until a practically new cultural pattern was evolved.

To this phase of assimilation and absorption belongs the worship of Bhīma, the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers in the great Indian epic of the Mahābhārata. To one brought up in Indian Hindu tradition the name Bhīma invokes a picture of a massive man, steadfast, courageous and invulnerably strong. His physical prowess, his undaunted courage in the face of danger and his absolute loyalty to the Pāṇḍava cause are often heralded by the bards of old.

To this Indian concept of Bhīma (Bīma), Werkodara or Bratasena as he is variously designated in the Archipelago was added a new mystical element by the islanders. This metaphysical aspect of his personality seems to have been a purely Indonesian innovation at least so far unknown to us from any Indian text. He seems to have played an important role in the mystical and soteriological schools of the islands.

In the archipelago the stories of the Mahābhārata were, as we know, extremely popular. They were very often adapted to suit the spiritual climate of the islands and modified to the requirements of the Wayang theatre. In these wayang plays the heroes of the Indian epics are presented to us in a new garb. The appearances of the puppets are very far removed from our concepts of the heroes and quite often new themes were developed centred around these characters. Of interest to us in the present context are the two *lakons* *Bima bungkus*¹ and *Pāṇḍupapa*². The *Bima bungkus* relates the peculiar circumstances of Bhīma's birth. We are told that when Bhīma was born he was bound by the amnion or the inner membrane enclosing the foetus. All efforts to extricate him failed and he was left at the field in Gandamayit, where the spirits looked after him. All this is told to us by the *dalang*³. When finally Bhaṭṭāra guru witnessed the disturbances in nature and heard the lamentations of Pāṇḍu he sent the elephant Gajahsena to break this enclosure. Here we are told that Gajahsena was Uma's son. Gajahsena finally succeeded in breaking this foetal enclosure and Bhīma was freed. At this point in the story we get two important features. Firstly, in the two available versions of the *lakon*^{3a} we are told that Gajahsena succeeds in breaking the caul and after breaking it open he disappears and "becomes one with the content of the caul"⁴, which now comes to light in the form of a youth who already is able to talk and wears a costume, including the loin cloth." Are we to infer that Gajahsena, who is obviously Gaṇeśa underwent a metamorphosis and became one with Bhīma? In the same story we are told that Bhaṭṭāra guru sent clothes through Umā for the newborn infant.

¹ The two versions of this lakon are given by Stutterheim in his "Ancient Javanese Bhima cult" as an appendix (I) in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology* (The Hague, 1956).

² Stutterheim—*op. cit.* pp. 138-143.

³ The master of the wayang or the puppeteer.

^{3a} A short dramatic sketch to help the dalang.

⁴ Stutterheim—*op. cit.* p. 130 f.n. 64.

The clothes that he sent were *poleng bang bintulu*⁵ to serve as a loin cloth, the arm band *chandrakirana*⁶, the necklace *nāgasara* or *nāgabanda*⁷, the ear ornament *jarot ing asem*⁸, the head dress *pudak sinum*⁹ *pet*. We shall discuss the full significance of these terms while discussing the iconography of Bhīma representations. From this *lakon* it is clear that Bhīma if not actually a member of the Saivite pantheon, which he would be if we accept a Bhīma-Gaṇeśa merger, was at least associated with Śiva in the form of Bhaṭṭāra guru, who released Bhīma from his bondage to the caul. Furthermore, it is of interest to note that Bhīma wears the *nāgasara* or a snake cord, a Śaivite emblem.

The *lakon Pāndupapa* describes Bhīma's quest for his father's soul in the *kabah Blagedaba*. The hell here is presented to us as a volcano located in heaven. Bratasena hurls himself into the volcano which cools off and is transformed into life giving water (*tirtāmṛta*). Sang Hyang Odipati then takes the souls of Pāṇḍu and Madrim to heaven. Here we get the description of Bhīma's strength for we are told that he carried his mother and brothers all the way on his shoulders. This story appears in the middle Javanese *kidung Bhīmasvarga*.

The most important work, however, in our present context is the *Bhīmasuchi* or *Devaruchi*¹⁰ as it is alternately called. Its importance lies in the fact that it expounds an aspect of Bhīma's character unknown to us from Indian sources. Bhīma is introduced to us here as the devout initiate and the master of esoteric wisdom.

The story begins with Druna's (Droṇa of the epic) sending Bhīma to fetch the water of life from a mountainous cavern. Droṇa's aim is to get rid of Bhīma, the strongest enemy of the Kauravas. Bhīma encounters two monsters there whom he vanquishes and they are transformed into Indra and Vāyu and inform him that the water of life is not to be found there. Droṇa, this time sends him to the depths of the ocean with the same mission.

Bhīma sets out once more with grim determination. With a firm and concentrated mind he enters the sea but is soon overcome by the angry tumult of the waves and his body begins to sink. His heart and mind however remain fixed and unswerving concentrating on the lofty *dharma* and he sheds all his toes with his world weary flesh. At that moment he encounters a *nāga* who encircles his tired limbs but Bhīma kills him with his *pañcanakha* a term which we shall shortly discuss. In some Malay versions Bhīma is actually killed by the snake and revived by Bhaṭṭāra guru¹¹.

Bhīma's killing of the *nāga* is explained by some authors as a symbolic gesture. The water of life, here as in several other stories seems to be the supreme wisdom, the *nāga* human respiration. The initiate, in order to cut off his physical existence (the severance here is symbolised by the slaying

⁵ Checkered loin cloth (*poleng*) of white red yellow, black and gold. The red, yellow and black are said to symbolise the weakness and passion he had to overcome and the white colour is the symbol of the nobility and purity, wherein all the colours become resolved. (Dr. N. Priyahoetomo Nawaruchi Groningen 1934). *Bintulu* is the name of the ornament used in the following *dodots* or royal loin cloth. This *poleng* cloth is also used by Bhaṭṭāra Bāyu.

⁶ The bracelet worn by the descendents of god Bāyu in the wayang. The three types of bracelets are the *gelang kana*, *gelang chulumpringan* and *gelang chandrakirana*. All these three types of bracelets are worn by the descendants of Bāyu., and by Bāyu himself. Not any wayang figure may be outfitted with these three types of bracelets.

⁷ *nāgasara*, snake band or the *nāga yajñopavita*.

⁸ *the jarot ing asem*—"the rib of a tamarind pod" is the sharp pointed ear ornament of Bhīma.

⁹ I could not trace the exact meaning of this term.

¹⁰ Poerbatjaraka "Dewarutji" in *Djawa XX* (1940) pp. 7-55.

¹¹ L.J.F.M. Pannenberg Stutterheim—"Treasures or meditation?" *India Antiqua*, 1947, p. 260 f.n. 7.

of the *nāga*) will have to cut off consciously his respiration and only then his mental ego can enter into the "unknown world full of light and without shadow, where the adept will find the knowledge about *sangkan-paran*. In short he would reach the state of *semadi*" (Samādhi)¹².

It may be interesting in this context to discuss the views put forward by Goris¹³. Goris is of the opinion that Bhīma played this special mystical role in the Indonesian archipelago as the son of Vāyu or the tempestuous God of the Winds. Bhīma is referred to as Vāyuputra. Goris believes that the Javanese identified the god of the winds with the god of breath, (respiration) which in turn was identified with the spirit of life¹⁴.

With this brief digression from the main story we shall resume it where we left it. Bhīma, having killed the *nāga* reaches an incredibly beautiful island sparkling with gold and jewels. Here he meets Devaruchi, a dwarf and a miniature replica of himself—his quintessential self. Devaruchi asks Bhīma to enter him through his ear. Bhīma at first scoffs at the idea but then obeys and is led to a vast space of emptiness and there Devaruchi instructs him about *sangkan paran*, "the wherefrom and the whereto," the all absorbing questions that affect all mystics and the Javanese are renowned for their love of mysticism. Devaruchi first instructs Bhīma on certain simple ethical rules, symbolised by the various colours that flash before Bhīma's eyes and later initiates him into the most secret and esoteric knowledge. Bhīma gets initiated into this most secret and esoteric knowledge by Devaruchi by which he finds the oneness with the highest principle.

The theories expounded in this work are fairly similar to those in other Indonesian philosophical treatises such as the *Bhubanakośa Wrhaspati-tattva* etc.

The final aim of the human soul is to become one with the Absolute Reality. This Absolute Reality is the Great void —*Śūnya* (*tanana* of the Javanese). The nature of this reality is again explained by Devaruchi with the use of colour symbolism. A multi-coloured symbol appears before Bhīma and Devaruchi explains it as follows:

"This symbolises the essential nature of the one. All these colours are within you, likewise the colours of the nine points, viz., the eight points of the world and the centre, and all are the products of consciousness . . . Every subtle thing is within you, and is one there. Their Being is within you, yet your being is within them; you both proceed from one and the same source, and are both identical with the Creator of the world"¹⁵. Here we have an exposition of the familiar concept of the identity of the macrocosmos with the microcosmos and the togetherness of the material soul with the universal soul, whose very essence is *śūnya*. We also get a description of the placements in the human body and corresponding placements in cosmic pattern.

Another point of great interest in this story is that Devaruchi is addressed as Jīnarṣi, Ādi Buddharṣi, Buddha tattwarṣi and Janārdana and finally Vairocana. In the very beginning of this work we are told that Devaruchi is the miniature self of Bhīma¹⁶. Do we then have a Bhīma-Vairocana

¹² K.G.P.A.A. Mangkoenagore VII, "Over de Wajang Koelit (poerwa) in het algemeen en over de daarin voorkomende symbolische en mystieke elementen", *Djawa* 1933 p. 79 ff.

¹³ Goris—Storm-kind en geestes zoon *Djawa*, 1927, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁴ "Hiermede hebben wij trachten duidelijk te maken dat de wind Zoon, dat is het fysieke stormkind tegelijk is de mystiek verlichte geest of ziel." Goris—*op.cit.* p. 112.

¹⁵ A. H. Johns—"The enlightenment of Bhīma" to appear in the *R. C. Majumdar felicitation volume*.

¹⁶ Devaruchi, we are told is the "one that one discovers when one is all alone" (*iku tunggal sing katemu pada tunggal*) *ibid.*

syncretism ? This becomes all the more interesting when we study it in the context of the Bhīmastava which was found in Bali. It runs:

Srīvajasattva sattvārtha sattveṣu karuṇātmaka /
 ekātmanāryabhīmena jagadmaitri namo'stu te / /
 humkārasambhavastava bhīmadhīra mahābala /
 vajrakāya mahopāya prāṇipreman namo'stu te / /
 sarvalaghupavitrāṅga maṅgiṣṭiratnakunḍala /
 ketakīpuṣpitaśrotra āryabhīma namo'stu te / /
 Sthūlayaśo guṇottuṅga sthūladīrghavapustira /
 sthūlaparākrama svayyat bhīmaśakte namo'stu te / /
 śūrāntare dviṣām saṅhe raṇe śatrubhayaṅkara /
 gadāstreṇa ripubhaṅga bhīmasūra namo'stu te / /
 sāṅsātsahodarakrānta girīndranātha jāgraja /
 kalidvāparasambhūta āryabhīmo namo'stu te / / /
 praśastajagatām trātāḥ atyantabhayadānaka /
 vighrahoṣṇambahupatto bhīmadhikaraṇa namaḥ / /
 anāryaduṣṭamukheṣu jagatām arihiṃsaka /
 satkarmasādhususneya jagatpāla namo'stu te / /
 prasiddha bhagavan bhīma me rakṣa bhayato gatam /
 prayojanam idam sidhyāt madbhrātāḥ hi namo'stu te / /¹⁷

Here we get the tone of a devotee bowing before his God and Bhīma plays the role of the protector of the world "jagatām trātā". True to his epic character we find him a man of great valour (śūra), of enormous strength, (mahābala) fearless and of great prowess (parākrama), of massive limbs (sthūla), the destroyer and terroriser of his foes (ripubhaṅga śatrubhayaṅkara) and armed with a club (gadā).

Apart from these conventional description of Bhīma we get the following expressions "prāṇipreman" (lover of animals), satkarmasādhususneya, (lover of the doer of good deeds and righteous people) and above all what is of utmost importance he is described as being one in soul with Sri Vajrasattva or rather Vajrasattva 'Whose aim is the well being of creatures, who takes compassion on creatures' is described as being one in soul with Ārya Bhīma, (ekātmanāryabhīmena) and this Bhīma-Vajrasattva syncretistic deity is invoked by the poet of this hymn.

Vajrasattva is the sixth Dhyāni Buddha, who was superimposed on the existing set of five Dhyāni Buddhas by the Yogācārya school of Buddhists, a school to which the builders of Borobudur are believed to have belonged¹⁸. Again, it is of interest to note that the Buddha statue in Borobudur popularly known as the 'Kṣatriya in cage' is known by the Javans even today as the statue of *sang* or *kāki Bhīma*.

Thus in concluding the literary references to Bhīma as gleaned from the Bhīmasuchi and the Bhīmastava we wish to draw the attention of the reader to the Buddhistic character of Bhīma. We get a concept of Bhīma as Vairocana and as Ādi Buddhārṣi and again in the Bhīmastava, as Vajrasattva. So much for the purely Buddhist aspect of his character. Bhīma seems to have therefore played an important role in a cult of deliverance deeply tinged with Buddhist ideas.

The Bhīmasuchi, on stylistic evidence is placed by Poerbatjaraka somewhere in the 16th century, the last phase of Hindu influence in Indonesia. The Buddhism of Java and Sumatra in this last phase is the subject of a very interesting article by Moens and here he points out how the Buddhist Tantric cults of deliverance got mingled with the Saivite ones in which the

¹⁷ F. D. K. Bosch—"The Bhimastava" *India Antiqua* p. 58.

¹⁸ Bosch—*op.cit.*, p. 61.

fierce and macabre of both the religions were combined. Thus he regards Bhairava as a syncretistic deity in which the fierce Buddha in the form of the Narasimhamūrti got fused with the Virabhadra aspect of Śiva.

Stutterheim believes that Bhīma was confused with Śiva, due to the homophony of names. In the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa eight names of Śiva are mentioned and Bhīma is one of them. Stutterheim believes that the Bhīma of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa got confused with the Bhīma of the Epic. He believes that 'it would be entirely in line with the magico-mystical doctrines of the ancient Balinese and Javanese to accept such an identification. He further believes that the word Bhīma being a synonym of Bhairava both meaning terrible the Bhairava aspect of Śiva got merged with the character of the second of the Pāṇḍava brothers¹⁹. Since Bhairava played such an important role in the soteriological doctrines of the times a similar role was assigned to the Pāṇḍava hero.

As his arguments are based on archaeological data we shall first of all see how Bhīma was treated by the sculptors. A few of the several examples discussed by Stutterheim should drive home his point. viz., a Bhairava Bhīma syncretism.

We shall begin with the description of the figure in the Partini gardens at Surakarta, found originally in the Lowu slopes in the Sukuh complex. Stutterheim quotes Hooperman's description²⁰.

"A figure sculpted in the round representing a man standing on a pedestal. A curved pigtail or toupet is worn at the back of the head, a moustache under the nose. Both arms hang beside the body; the left arm brings the hand in front of the abdomen. The right hand on the chest holds a snake by the tail, which is wrapped around the body and shows its head on the chest. On the arms and wrists ornaments. The head is broken off and stands loose on the trunk. The right leg is also damaged. The figure is two feet and nine inches in height. The natives call this figure Bimo. At the back of the statue described here is an inscription on the cloth which hangs down from the waist . . .". Knebel gives the following description of the same statue.

"A weathered two-armed male statue in Wayang purva form standing on a masonry pedestal. The physiognomy shows a Javanese type. The hair is done in *gelung*; the attire consists of *sumpings*, a snake band, snake *upavīta*, a small cloth with the *poleng* design, gathered together in front and back, hanging down between the legs—the back panel contains an inscription carved in sukh script. Each hand is closed in a fist, with the protruding thumb having a long dagger like nail (*pañcanakha*). The inscription has been read by Muuses as '*Bhīma gana rama ratu*' = 1365, śaka = 1443 A.D. (in chronogram).²¹ Earlier we saw in the Bimabungkus how Bhaṭṭāra guru sent clothes for the new born through Umā and there too we had an identical description of Bhīma's costume.

Stutterheim's identification of this figure with Bhīma seems to be warranted by the fact that this figure closely resembles the other known Bhīma figures from the sukh complex as well as with the Wayang purva form of Bhīma. In the Wayang Purva form of Bhīma is represented as a man'' with an athletic build and his nose indicates that he does not possess the inner refinement of the others. He is a tyrannical type. His massive limbs show enormous strength . . . Bhīma is always recognised by his large thumb nail, a symbol of concentration. He uses this only in times of the

¹⁹ Stutterheim *op.cit.* p. 117.

²⁰ Stutterheim *op.cit.* p. 107, 108.

²¹ *ibid.*

greatest need e.g., when on his journey to the bottom of the ocean in quest of the life giving water he is attacked by the frightful water snake. On this occasion Bhīma met with the god Devaruchi and experienced a mystical initiation. As a remembrance of this initiation he wears a checkered loin cloth (*poleng*), the square of which are properly worn in the colours white, red, yellow and black".²²

Stutterheim after studying several specimens of Bhīma sculptures came to the conclusion that there existed a cult in which Bhīma played an important part and that this cult was particularly popular in the mountain slopes of Java.

Stutterheim, as we saw earlier traced strong Saivite elements in the cult of Bhīma worship. In support of his theory he refers to the *catuhkāya* images from Bali. As an example we shall take the one from Pusering jagat at Pedjeng. It shows four identical figures, all male in the *Ālīḍha* attitude wearing a *wayang* headdress. The face is heavy set and has demoniac eyes and a moustache. A broad *kelung* is dropped across the shoulders and chest and a *kain* in *poleng* patterns is wound around the middle and hangs round in slips. The right arm is bent and presses against the middle of the body a *vajra* club crowned with a small *paraśu*. The left arm probably raises a *śaṅkha*. To the left of the slip a phallus appears treated in the *sukuh* style²³.

Several similar figures are described by Stutterheim. He lays special emphasis on the *wayang* headdress, the *Ālīḍha* pose, the heavy set face, demoniac eyes, moustache, the *kain* in *poleng* pattern, and the *paraśu* crowning the *vajra* club. On the basis of these similarities between the Bhīma figures and these *catuhkāyas* Stutterheim concludes that here we have a Balinese counterpart, albeit in distinctive form, of some of our Javanese figures. As we have noticed earlier, Stutterheim accounts for this similarity by suggesting that there was some confusion in the minds of the Javanese between the Bhairava aspect of Śiva and the Bhīma of the Mahābhārata due to the homophony of names and due to the fact that Bhīma and Bhairava meant the same. He further believes that the *aṣṭamukhaḥ* from Bali was a representation of the eight forms of Śiva as described in the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa, these forms being, Rudra, Bhava, Śarva, Īśa (Paśupati), Bhīma Ugra and Mahādeva. He therefore traces strong similarities between the Bhairava of Singhasari, the Bhairava of Sungai Langsat and the Bhīma figures of Java. On the basis of all these evidence Stutterheim concludes that 'a connection must have existed between the images of Bhīma and those of the Bhairava based on the correlation between the Bhīma and the Bhairava forms of Śiva, and further that the worship of these figures must have been related to the attainment salvation, either during natural life or after death.'²⁴

Apart from the homophony of names Stutterheim believes there is enough of a mystical element in the life of Bhīma (such as his being tied to the caul etc.) to warrant his playing a role in the magico-spiritual cult of deliverance. At Sukuh Stutterheim identified a panel as being a carving in stone of the legend of the Bimabungkus.

All we know for certain is that Bhīma played an important role in the magico-mystical cults of deliverance of Indonesia and that he exhibited both Buddhist and Śaiva characteristics. Many attempts have been made to explain the mental process by which the simple hero of the epic was changed into his new role of the deliverer and protector of the world. Goris, as we

²² R. Mellema *Wayang Puppets*, Amsterdam 1954. pp. 46-47.

²³ Stutterheim *op.cit.* p. 115.

²⁴ Stutterheim *op.cit.* p. 118.

have seen explained it by his association with Vāyu, Stutterheim as a result of Śiva being called Bhairava, and Bosch believes that Bhīma was compared and associated with Indra, 'the god with whom he had several qualities in common—his strength, his valour and impetuousness—and who like him, was closely connected with Vāyu his name being regularly substituted for that of the latter deity in the well known triad Agni-Vāyu-Indra-Sūrya.'²⁵ He believes that Indra with his Vajra and Bhīma with his *pañcanakha*, which closely resembled the five-clawed *vajra* of Indra were identified as one and the same being in the minds of the Javanese and Indra Vajradhara-Bhīma was further due to similarity of names associated with Vajrasattva the sixth Dhyānibuddha.

What the process of reasoning was by which Bhīma came to occupy this venerable position we can at best only guess. Till further evidence comes to light we have to merely learn to accept that from time to time we get the rise of several ideological phenomena, with a Hindu origin though unknown to us from the mainland of India, but exercising considerable influence in the minds of the islanders themselves. The Bhīma cult along with the Agastya cult as well as the cult of the pitāmahas and Haricandana seem to be characteristics peculiar to the Hindu Javanese religion.

²⁵ Bosch—*op.cit.* p. 60.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

STUDIES IN KUSHĀṆA GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY
VOL. I

THE KUSHĀṆA GENEALOGY, by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, Calcutta, 1967,
pp. XVIII+212 with one map and ten plates. Price. Rs. 35.

The dynasty of the Kushāṇa kings in India occupies the unique position of being the only major ruling dynasty in India during the last two thousand years whose chronology and genealogy still remain unknown and uncertain. Its genealogy was regarded more or less certain, until, in recent times, it has become as uncertain and a matter of as keen dispute as its chronology. The two questions are not, perhaps, unconnected, and it is very likely that the solution of one would lead to, or at least pave the way for, the solution of the other.

For nearly a century almost all prominent Indologists, including some of the greatest names in this field, made attempts to solve the problem of Kushāṇa chronology, and two international symposiums were held, at interval of half a century, for the same purpose, but it has so far defied all attempts at solution and has proved the grave of many reputations. For, theories advanced with confidence have followed one another, in quick succession, and though each has easily succeeded in destroying the others', the satisfaction of a scholar that his own views would not share the same fate has been of short duration.

Dr. B. N. Mukherjee is perhaps the youngest among those who have seriously taken up the study of the problem and published his views, but though he is the latest, it does not require any prophet to say that he would not certainly be the last in the field. For the reviewer feels convinced that until and unless more positive and definite evidence comes to light, it is not possible to arrive at any solution of the twin problems of the genealogy and chronology of the Kushāṇas that would command general assent. Till then all discussions are bound to lead to theories without any solid basis—mere houses of cards which are bound to tumble down, one after another, as has been the case before.

It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that Dr. Mukherjee's views, as he has very frankly admitted, are merely tentative and in many cases rest on strings of hypotheses and probabilities, most of which may not be regarded as even reasonable by others. It is neither possible nor necessary to discuss in detail such views with which the book abounds. Only one illustration will suffice. For a long time it has been held by many that Kanishka founded the Śaka era which commenced in 78 A.D., though it has been opposed by others, and dates, long before and long after it, have been assigned by them to this ruler. One of the chief arguments against regarding Kanishka as the founder of the Śaka era is that Kanishka was not a Śaka but a Kushāṇa, a different race. Dr. Mukherjee, who subscribes to the view that Kanishka founded the Śaka era, has been at pains to establish the "plausible inference" that the Yüeh-chih, of whom the Kushāṇas formed a branch, "were ethnically affiliated to the Scythian stock." This "plausible inference" is based upon a passage of Strabo in which the Śakas are described as Scythian.

Strabo then adds: "They are all for the most part nomads. But the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae." (p. 24). From this the inference is drawn that the Tocharis were Scythians, which is by no means a necessary one for there were probably nomads other than the Scythians and Strabo might have them in view. Then follows a string of assumptions of more dubious character (pp. 24-27) on the basis of which the Tochari are equated with the Yüeh-chih. Then follows the conclusion: "And if the term Tochari is taken to stand for the Yüeh-chih horde, a plausible inference will be that the latter were ethnically affiliated to the Scythian stock." (p. 27).

As against all these very *doubtful* surmises, the author has to admit that a Chinese text "Surely treats Ta Yueh-Chih and the Sai or the Śakas as ethnically distinct peoples" (p. 27). He also admits its consequence in the following words: "Thus it is difficult to prove the Śaka nationality of the Yüeh-chih. We are also unable to accept their affiliation to the Scythians, with whom Strabo associated the Sacae or the Śakas. It is best, at least in the present state of our knowledge, to regard the Yüeh-chih as ethnically distinct from any other known people" (pp. 27-8).

Even after this admission the author suggests some reasons, not very convincing, why Strabo made such a wrong statement. The final conclusion is stated in the following words—"The irresistible inference is that the Kushāṇas, forming a part of the Ta Yueh-chih section of the Yueh-chih people, could be indicated in some ancient narratives as Scythians or Śakas (=Sakai=Sacae)" (p. 28). The author's attention may be drawn to the fact that he has rightly refused to accept many views of his predecessors, throughout his book, though these rested on far more plausible grounds than he has been able to show in favour of his above assumption.

He should also do well to remember that no inference or conclusion in his book, as of others on the same subject, should be termed 'irresistible' as he has done here and elsewhere (p. 49). His criticism of R. Ghirshman's theory and of others, viz. that it 'lacks proper foundation' (pp. 55-6), or is 'pure conjecture' (p. 73), may, with equal or greater justice, be applied to many of his own theories, even though he uses such expressions as "definitely indicates" (pp. 55, 73).

The following may be quoted as a typical illustration of the many statements with which the book abounds. "In the light of the above discussion we are forced to the conclusion that neither any epigraphic nor any numismatic testimony proves the existence of a second Huvishka. Hence, till a very definite evidence is discovered, we prefer to support the conventional view that there was only one Kushāṇa ruler called Huvishka. Vima was his grand-father" (p. 68).

The reviewer, who is in full agreement with the first two of these sentences, would like to remind the author that one might use exactly the same language against his assumption of three Kanishkas or two Vāsudevas.

As regards the last sentence it, too, is a gratuitous assumption for which there is no positive or definite, not to speak of conclusive, evidence. What is more interesting is the fact, that the author himself has indicated the uncertainty of any such relationship in the genealogical table on p. 139.

As a matter of fact his view of the genealogy of the Kushāṇa kings,—the proper subject matter of the book under review—is profoundly influenced by his theory of their chronology which he proposes to discuss in the next volume of this book. For example, the existence of a second king named

Vāsudeva was *mainly* based on the fact that the date of a great Yüeh-chih king, Po-t'iao, "whose name is identifiable with the name Vāsudeva," is definitely known from the Chinese sources to be A.D. 230 (p. 87), but it does not agree with the assumption that the dates of the other King Vāsudeva known to us, viz. 67 to 98 should be referred to the era of 78 A.D., which is supposed to have been the date of accession of Kanishka. The numismatic arguments to support it were merely afterthoughts. The Kushāṇa chronology is, however, a still more controversial subject—a perennial problem which has defied solution for more than a century. The value of the author's theory of Kushāṇa genealogy depends, to a large extent, upon that of the chronology, and the detailed discussion of the one cannot be profitably undertaken without that of the other. What has been said above is more or less a general warning to the author to avoid the pitfalls which he is likely to meet on the other question. The author may show in the next volume as great industry and as much scholarship as he has undoubtedly displayed in the present, but the subject he has chosen is such that it is not his fault in any way if a satisfactory conclusion—far less a consensus of opinion—cannot be reached. This is not intended to discourage him from the projected Volume II. For though no final conclusion may be possible just now, it may be facilitated by discussion—a sort of intellectual gymnastics—such as are contained in this book. And this is of no mean value. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent and it may be safely commended to serious students of ancient Indian history as a genuine and serious—though unsuccessful—effort to solve an intriguing problem.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE KUSHĀṆAS AND THE DECCAN, Part I (Kanishka I and the Deccan) by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, M.A., (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. (Lond.), Pages 1-166, published by Pilgrim Publishers, Calcutta, Price—Rs. 20.

This book, written by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee, is a product of serious researches conducted by him. Dr. Mukherjee is very well known as a great scholar in the field of ancient Indian History, specially of the so-called dark period of Kushāṇa history. He is regarded here and abroad as a keen and expert student of Kushāṇa history and Kushāṇa numismatics. He is a scholar who is never satisfied with any reference remaining untraced so far as its source is concerned. This scholarly attribute of Dr. Mukherjee has been amply indicated in this book.

The main theme of this work is to examine critically the knotty and controversial question as to whether the Kushāṇa ruler, Kanishka I, and any of his predecessors exercised their royal domination in any part of the Deccan. The second question, somewhat an allied one, that Dr. Mukherjee has discussed in the book is whether Nahapāna and the Chastana group of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas were subordinate rulers in some parts of the peninsular India under Kanishka I or any other members of the Kushāṇa house.

Dr. Mukherjee has in this book answered both these questions negatively. He has undertaken immense pains to show that neither Kujula Kadphises nor V'ima Kadphises, nor even Kanishka I had, at any time, any part of the Deccan in their direct occupation. With regard to Nahapāna who, according to him, could be identified with Manbanus of the *Periplus*. had been ruling in parts of Western Deccan, and this ruler could not have begun his political career under any of the early Kushāṇa kings including

Kanishka I, because the warlike Bactrians identified in this context with the Yüeh-chih or the Kushānas at that time could not extend their territory into inner India beyond its North-Western parts, i.e. nearly the old North-Western Frontier Province.

In dealing with his dissertation Dr. Mukherjee has tried to prepare his grounds for a solution of the problems referred to above, by defining in the Introductory chapter of this book the geographical limits of the Deccan of the earlier period, including the Kushāna period, and the map he has prepared and attached to his book with the ascertainment of the boundaries of the early Deccan is of much value to the historians, as he has sought out very many references to Dakṣiṇāpatha from Sanskrit, Buddhist and also archaeological sources.

Dr. Mukherjee's examination of Sylvian Levi's theory of Kanishka I's sway over parts of the Deccan has been very critical. I think that Dr. Mukherjee's interpretation of the two passages, one from the *Hou Han-shu* and the other from *Wei-lueh*, on the strength of which he has refuted Levy's theory, appears cogent. It may be said in this connection that Dr. Mukherjee had in his recently published work "*The Kushāna Genealogy*" has tried to prove that the country of Tungli with its capital-city named Sha-ch'i (=Sāketa) may have been the region around modern Oudh (Fyzabad district in U.P.) and Kanishka I may have conquered that part of India and some territory in the vicinity of it, and not any part of the Deccan. In chapter II of the book the author has attempted to establish the historical fact that the *Hou Han-shu* actually alluded to Kanishka I's conquest of Sāketa region and this fact, he claims, has not been properly noticed by scholars before.

In Chapter III of the book the author discusses for the first time a legend which was only cited by Levy, but not utilised by him to substantiate his theory of Kanishka I's occupation of and rule in the Deccan. This very interesting legend occurs in *Yu yangtsa tsu*, a Chinese treatise composed by Tuan Ch'eng-che in about 860 A.D. Although it is a very late composition, its legend in question yields some historicity concerning a conflict between Kanishka I and the Sātavāhanas of the South. The brief contents of this legend are—that King Kanishka (I) became furious on observing a finger-print in saffron colour when his queen wore on her bosom one of the fabrics presented to the king by a man who had bought it from a merchant, and the queen on being asked by the king said that the fabric itself bore the finger-mark in saffron colour. It was ascertained that a Sātavāhana king used to mark such fabrics paid to him in the shape of taxes and that the fabrics if worn by women would have shown the marks over their breasts. The author has cited a somewhat similar story about King Hāla (a Sātavāhana ruler) from an 11th century Persian book also, and the rival king in this case was a King of Kashmir. Dr. Mukherjee has shown that though Kanishka I might have at any time proceeded against any of the Sātavāhanas, the arena of conflict might have been outside the Deccan, and the confrontation between them might have taken place in the Ākara region (Eastern Malwa) which was once under the Sātavāhanas. The author has given some arguments (p. 72) to indicate that the Sātavāhana King with whom Kanishka I clashed might have been Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (who had under his territorial jurisdiction that part of India) or his son and successor Pulumāvi.

In Chapter IV (the Epilogue) the author who believes in the theory of Śaka era having been started by Kanishka I from (March) 78 A.D. has, as it appears to us, correctly dealt with the choronological position of Naha-pāna and Chastana whose dates, according to him, are all to be reckoned

as their regnal years, though even now there are scholars who think that the Śaka era was introduced or founded by the Mahākshatrapa Chastana or his predecessor ruling in Western India and that their dates will have to be calculated as belonging to that era. Dr. Mukherjee has depended for his inference about this chronology on epigraphic data found from Nasik region and from information culled from *Ptolemy*.

Dr. Mukherjee thinks that there were economic reasons behind Kanishka I's approach towards the South, specially towards Ākara (Eastern Malwa), which was under the rule of Śātakarṇi or his son at that time, and that the Kushāṇa ruler did not, at any time, rule in any part of the then Deccan. Such inference may be treated as an important land-mark in the gradual growth of the Kushāṇa empire in India.

It may be said to the credit of Dr. Mukherjee that he has been able to throw important and considerable light by his learned suggestions which are not really fantastic or dogmatic. We have found that sometimes the exhaustive notes attached to each chapter of the book are very useful and important for consideration and utilisation by scholars.

The three Appendices are also important for general readers and scholars alike. Appendix I treats the genealogy of the Kushāṇa rulers and it finds a place also in the author's separate treatise (p. 139) viz., "the Kushāṇa Genealogy" referred to before. In Appendix II the author has very carefully arrived at the view that the date of the *Periplus* "cannot be ascribed to any time after about the middle of the 2nd century A.D." (p. 124). In Appendix III Dr. Mukherjee has said that Ptolemy might have written his Geography sometime between A.D. 141 and the death of its author which occurred sometime between A.D. 161 and A.D. 185.

Lastly it may be said that scholars, earlier and modern, have really fallen in a sea of troubles and difficulties in tackling the knotty problems discussed in Dr. Mukherjee's book, but without succeeding to swim over to the shore of solutions, Dr. Mukherjee, however, seems to have advanced more in crossing over this sea and it is expected that the shore of historical truth will very soon be in his sight.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

FOLKMUSIC AND FOLKLORE, An Anthology, Vol. 1. Edited by Hemango Biswas and others. Folkmusic and Folklore Research Institute, Calcutta, 1967; pp. 168. Rs. 10.00, 25 shillings, \$ 4.50.

It is a collection of 20 articles written by different authors. Two of them have been reprinted from the writings of Rabindranath Tagore and George Abraham Grierson. The majority of the remaining articles contain short accounts of the folkmusic and folklore of different regions, dealt with more from an aesthetic national point of view than that of a behavioural scientist. Some articles contain also theoretical discussions. The purpose of this neatly executed anthology is apparently to draw our attention to the vast uncultivated field of research on folklore and folkmusic lying in India.

S. BHATTACHARYA

A HISTORY OF THE SIKHS, Volume II, 1839-1964, by Khuswant Singh.

Pages xiii+419. Price Rs. 30, Princetown University Press. Princetown, New Jersey.

This volume deals with the history of the Sikhs from the death of Ranjit Singh to very recent times within the memory of us all. From the point of view of historical treatment it may be divided into three parts. The first part, which is more valuable as a purely historical work than the other two, is a critical narrative of the political history of the Sikhs from 1839 to 1947 i.e., from the death of Ranjit Singh to the partition of the Punjab. The second part is a review of the various political movements—Marxist National and Sectarian. Religious Reforms with special reference to the Akalis and Gurdwara problem; economic questions such as rural indebtedness and peasant agitation etc. The third part deals with the various problems concerning the Sikhs after 1947.

In the first part the author has dealt with the catastrophic changes in Sikh politics ending with the British annexation of the Punjab. The major events are well known and have been dealt with by several eminent historians both British and Indian. But the author has briefly narrated the course of events in a very lucid style, pleasant to read, without sacrificing in any way the historical accuracy of the details. Occasionally he has thrown new light on some important events, and challenged accepted views, on the authority of new documents. As an illustration reference may be made to his discussion on the very disputed question whether the death of Nao Nihal Singh was due to an accident or a deliberate plot to kill him (p. 12. footnote). The account of the Dogra expedition to Tibet (pp. 22-3) is bound to be of great interest in view of the recent Indo-Chinese relation. Much light has been thrown also on the secret intrigues of the British with some treacherous Sikh Chiefs. The brief picture of the treason and confusion at the Sikh Durbar on the eve of the First War between the Sikh and the British is of great interest. The author has quoted secret correspondence to prove that "Rani Jhinda, Raja Lal Singh, the Chief Minister, and Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh forces, and many of the Chieftains, both Sikh and Dogra, were in communication with the British and willing to sell the Punjab provided their lives and Jagir were secured" (p. 44).

The author's discussion of the justification of the British action in invading the Punjab is of great interest. In particular he has brought to light some document to prove to the hilt that Lord Hardinge himself entertained doubts about the morality of his action, that Lal Singh was actually in league with the British (pp. 46-7), and that "bhillianwala was the worst defeat suffered by the British since their occupation of India" (p. 79). The author has successfully defended the Sikh troops' action in not joining the Mutiny (p. 101) but some of his statements in this connection are quite wrong. There is no justification for saying that Nana Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi "became leaders of the Maratha rebels" (p. 98) and that Murshidabad was one of the important states annexed by Dalhousie (p. 98).

In the second part he has given an interesting account of the Kukas and their leader Ram Singh. But perhaps few would agree with his statement that "Ram Singh was the first man to evolve non-cooperation and the use of swadeshi (indigenous goods) as political weapons. The boycott of British goods, government schools, law courts, and the postal service and the exhortation to wear only hand-spun cloth (khaddar) which Ram Singh propagated in the 1860's were taken up again sixty years later by Mahatma Gandhi" (p. 135).

Similar claims have been made with regard to the Wahabis. The author's account of the Ghadr movement and of Hardayal is neither adequate nor accurate, and his general attitude towards Dayanand seems to be a biased one. But still more unfortunate is his account of the I.N.A. (p. 245). That he has a very poor knowledge of the subject is shown by his statement

that "its (I.N.A.'s) offensive on the Arrakan front aimed at the capture of Imphal," and his fanciful account of the fate "of the force of 6,000 that had set out to capture Imphal." Few Indians would support his taunting remark that "the heroic" epic of the I.N.A., came to an inglorious end.

Not much need be said about the third part. Time has not yet come to write the history of events after 1950 concerning the Sikh homeland. The division of the East Punjab into two states has made some of his views and remarks quite out of date. On the whole, the book is an important addition to the literature on the Sikhs.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

MYTHS OF THE SHIMONGS OF THE UPPER SIANG by T. K. Bhattacharya, N.E.F.A., Shillong, 1965, xxvi+82, price not stated.

This book is a collection of 19 folk tales of the Shimongs, a sub-tribe of the great Adi community. They inhabit the northern fringe of the Siang Frontier Division. Their total population is about 2000, which is distributed over ten villages along the left bank of the Siang river.

The book opens with a foreword from the late Verrier Elwin, who speaks highly of the ability of the author as a good administrator and a sympathetic officer, who "came to know and love the Adis well." Mr. Bhattacharya had therefore to learn and to speak the Adi language well, without which the collection of folk tales would not have been possible. The author has also provided a broad picture of the Shimong culture, which is of the same pattern as the Padam-Minyong one.

Elwin in his foreword has mentioned that folk tales "throw a clear and natural light on many....institutions and customs." There are ample references of these in the folk tales. There are, thus, mentions of brother-sister marriage (pp. 5, 10); of incest (p. 5), illegitimate birth (p. 20) and outcaste (p. 71) not so clearly distinguishable from one another so as to be denoted by the term '*mipak*.' Earthquakes and landslides appear to be frequent. There is often a mention of the people of the North (*Nimat*). And *Tani*, the hero of everything human and superhuman is referred to in almost every tale. Some of the folk tales show the exchange (pp. 14-17) and the disguise motives (pp. 23-35).

Mr. Bhattacharya has done well by providing a glossary of the Shimong words. He has provided the students of folklore with some basic data, which he alone is competent to collect.

S. S. SARKAR

WEST BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEER—BANKURA, by Amiya Kumar Banerjee,

There cannot be any doubt that one of the finest organisations which the British built up in India was the Indian Civil Service. It was of course basically an organisation to maintain the power and prestige of British rule in India, incidentally doing what good they could do to the people of the country (it being accepted that the primary object was to maintain peace and order and good government so that the British might utilise their connexion with India for their own political and economic advantages). At the same time the more intellectual and cultured type of British officers who

came out to India, who were actuated by the fine humanistic traditions of Europe which were an inheritance from the cultured mind of the ancient Greeks, were interested in the people and culture of India—in its languages, its social institutions, its religion and philosophy, its political history, its higher arts like architecture, sculpture and painting and its arts and crafts—in fact everything which formed an expression of the culture of India. A proper account and appraisal of all these formed the very necessary scientific basis and background of a successful administration. Fully understanding the implications of these, there were so many scientific and other institutions, not merely utilitarian, which were started by the British. The Asiatic Society, which was one of the greatest gifts of Europe through England to India, also was of the greatest help in enabling people to get a scientific knowledge of India and its past and of the work of nature in the soil of India.

The British administration in India started an invaluable series of "District Gazetteers", which successfully gave all detailed information about the various regions of India, which were divided for the purpose of administration, into districts. These District Gazetteers began first as a series of handbooks on certain bigger areas within the country. They are a most precious mine of information for everything connected with India in the 19th and 20th centuries with reference to the actual scene and also to the past. For writing anything upon any part of India, the information which has been very carefully and systematically collected by the District Magistrates and Collectors during the greater part of the 19th century was always a main stay-by. They formed a most eloquent testimony to the intelligence and painstaking character of the best brains of Britain and Ireland which were drafted into the Indian Civil Service for near-about a hundred years.

Thus for Bihar, Assam and Bengal we have a series of very detailed descriptive monographs on different areas which were compiled during the close of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, and then came a series of District Gazetteers. O'Malley's District Gazetteers for different districts of Bengal, for instance, formed a representative set of these very valuable documents. They were taken up more or less as part of the official duty of the District Officers. But these officers who generally were very conscientious in this matter laid under requisition their subordinates who also entered rightly into the spirit of this enquiry and supplied their superiors with first-hand information on various topics, which otherwise it would have been impossible for the European Officers to lay their hands upon.

The tradition was already started, and fortunately after Independence this is being kept up. We are, however, at the present moment in a very adverse situation with regard to anything which is of scientific value and not of immediate interest or utility. Then the high intellectual calibre which at one time characterised the higher administration of India under the British is gradually undergoing a deterioration—the wider outlook, the broader viewpoint and the more comprehensive knowledge together with meticulous attention to details are becoming rarer and rarer. Nevertheless, there are some conscientious officers under the present regime of Indian Independence who appreciate the value of these Gazetteers and try to maintain its tradition. After Independence an inventory was taken of the progress made in this matter. We should remember that a complete series of new Gazetteers for the different districts has become a crying need because the older Gazetteers have largely become out of date and moreover they are not obtainable. New revised Gazetteers, therefore, are a great desideratum. But the progress in this matter in free India is very slow, particularly in the State of West Bengal. Some of our Indian I.C.S. and I.A.S. officers

who were detailed for this kind of work have been doing their best. But their best is not quick enough. So we are lagging behind.

Fortunately, the West Bengal Government has sought to put some new impetus into this matter and have shown a laudable desire to expedite the compiling, printing and publication of these District Gazetteers which would reflect the present-day conditions and would be up-to-date. Personally, I think that one of the very good things that the Government has done in this regard is to place Shri Amiya Kumar Banerjee, I.A.S. in charge of the Gazetteers Section of the West Bengal Government. Progress was steady but slow, but Shri Banerjee as a creative young and energetic officer with ideas and with science as well as the know-how will be able to make a very good task of it. The first fruit of his labour in this direction is now before the public, and it is the Gazetteer for the district of Bankura which was published during September 1968. It is a solid volume of some 624 closely printed pages and it is entirely in the Gazetteer tradition, all the factors of which have been preserved and continued. The information, as it can only be expected, is up-to-date and in certain matters of history, ethnology, language, religion, culture, folkways, education, economic conditions etc., the compiler has tried his best to keep abreast of the times. At every step he has, very rightly, consulted those who have specialised in the various departments of life and culture and he has taken their views and fully appraised them, including them in his Gazetteer, knowing full well that whatever he states will become by virtue of the place of the Gazetteer in our intellectual life quite authoritative. The volume on Bankura which we have before us is quite a finely executed work, and Shri Amiya Kumar Banerjee is to be complimented upon as well as the personnel of fellow officers in his department who have helped him.

I have glanced through considerable portions of the volume and my interest being primarily linguistic and ethnological as well as historical, I was very happy to find that the facts which Shri Amiya Kumar Banerjee has presented in this book on Bankura are on the whole quite reliable, and the book will preserve its reputation as an almost impeccable source-book for the study of present-day India in some of its special aspects, and of course within a circumscribed area. About ethnology and anthropology, about linguistics, about social structure and so forth, this present Gazetteer has sought, and has been quite successful in that, to be factual, and has quoted authorities and references whenever necessary. Shri Amiya Kumar Banerjee makes his debut in the highly specialised world of Indian District Gazetteers with, I should say, brilliant success. He has got in hand volumes on Howrah, Hooghly, Darjeeling, Birbhum, etc. and these, I hope, will come to light in due time. I hope this work on Bankura District will be very well received and its popularity should rightly be an incentive to greater effort and more conspicuous success on the part of Shri Amiya Kumar Banerjee and his team.

1967 ROSTER OF INDIAN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL TRANSLATORS, by the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre, Delhi-12, with a Foreword by Shri B. S. Kesavan, Director INSDOC. pp. 77. Price not mentioned.

The compilation of this very useful roster is a very laudable attempt on the part of the Translation Unit of INSDOC, New Delhi. In this world of ours, full of unrest and turmoils, a clear understanding of other peoples' ideas is very often not possible due to language bar standing as a stumbling block. So polylinguists are in great demand in every country not only to understand what other people think but also to make them available to the inquisitive men of their countries through translations from foreign languages into their own and may be also to make other people conversant with theirs.

In some of the advanced countries very often stock-takings are made of the linguist personnel and especially of those who are doing yeoman's service in the field of translation. But unfortunately so long any such attempt was conspicuous by its absence and translators, few and far between, do their jobs out of love, mostly unnoticed except by a few interested persons. So this talent finding survey, as incorporated in the roster is a very welcome move in the right direction.

The roster adumbrates very useful informations regarding addresses of translators, language of specialization, subjects of specialization, town translator distribution, and Indian language enterprize together with samples of registration and correction cards. In his Foreword, Shri Kesavan has regretted that in spite of 3000 circulars to individuals, universities, colleges, Research institutes, public and private enterprizes in addition to advertisements in daily newspapers and technical periodicals, only one fifth of the number have cared to respond within about a years time and so the compilation based on such meagre data is not satisfactory. Shri Dandekar, the Scientist-in-charge of the translation unit hopes that the publication of the roster will draw the attention of the translators of our country to enrol themselves on the INSDOC panel of translators and will also be an incentive for more translation work in their respective fields from foreign languages with which they are conversant. It should not be only unilateral but bilateral as far as practicable. Then and then alone our people in the scientific and technical lines can know adequately what progress has been made in other developed countries as also it will be possible for other peoples to know of our achievements in the respective fields. Let us hope that in the next edition INSDOC will be able to present much more information and data.

R. K. PAL

COPPER-PLATES OF SYLHET by Kamalakanta Gupta, published by the author, Kastaghar, Sylhet, 1967. Price Rs. 10.00.

The book under review contains copper plates of Bhāskaravarmā, Maruṇḍanātha, Śrichandradeva, Govindakeśvadeva and Īśānadeva. Of them the epigraphs of Maruṇḍanātha and Śrichandradeva (he is also known from records discovered outside Sylhet) are new discoveries and discussed in the present monograph for the first time. And of the kings and chiefs connected with these copper plates, Maruṇḍanātha, a sāmanta or feudatory chief, is a new figure. Taken together, all these records put Sylhet—ancient Śrihaṭṭamaṇḍala—solidly on the epigraphical map of India.

Though not a professional epigraphist Shri Gupta has handled his materials with a professional competence and has, indeed, laid us under a

debt of gratitude by bringing to light two interesting epigraphs—the Kalapur Copper Plate of Maruṇḍanātha and the Paschimbhag copper plate of Śrīchandradeva. The latter particularly has given us some new and important bits of information, hitherto unknown. Thus the Paschimbhag copper plate has shown that Chandrapura-vishaya mentioned in it is identical with the Chandrapurī-vishaya of the well-known Nidhanpur copper plates of Mahārājādhirāja Bhāskaravarmā of Kāmarūpa. And further this vishaya was included in Śrīhaṭṭamaṇḍala, which was in its turn a part of Paundravardhanabhukti. Secondly, the Paschimbhag copper plate is the earliest record mentioning Śrīhaṭṭa as a geographical name. Thirdly, this epigraph by mentioning Vikramapura, Samataṭa and Vaṅgāla separately shows that Samataṭa excluded, at least in the 10th century A.D., the period of Mahārājādhirāja Śrīchandra, the Vikramapura area and the Vaṅgāla land. Fourthly, the Paschimbhag copper plate alludes to the advent of the Kambojas at the illustrious 'pura' (city) i.e. Vikramapura during the reign of Trailokyachandra, a fact hitherto unknown; thus this epigraph read in conjunction with the Bangadh records of the renowned Pāla emperor Mahīpāla I and the Irda grant of Rājyapala of the Kamboja lineage points out the importance of the part played by the rather mysterious Kamboja people in the politics of Gauḍa-Vaṅga in the 10th century. Like the Paschimbhag, the Kalapur copper plate also gives us a new information, viz., the existence of one Maruṇḍanātha, a descendant of Śrīnātha, and hence evidently a member of the family of Lokanātha of the Tippera copper plate, though the actual relationship (agnatic) between Maruṇḍanātha and Lokanātha cannot be known owing to the missing portions of the record in question. Fifthly, the Paschimbhag copper plate recording the grant of lands of about 1000 sq. miles included in three vishayas to six thousand brahmanas in equal shares has proved to be the biggest land grant in Bengal so far discovered. It thus adds the name of Mahārājādhirāja Śrīchandra to the list of kings making big collective land grants which includes Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmā and Bhāskaravarmā of Kāmarūpa, Lokanātha of Tripura, Bhoja I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, Vākpati Muṇja of the Paramāra dynasty, Madanadeva and Paramardideva of the Chandella dynasty to mention a few among them. To a student of social history of India, too, the Paschimbhag and similar land-grants are of interest and importance. In the Paschimbhag and Bhatera records, for instance, mention is made of dancers, gardeners, potters, blacksmiths, bellmetal workers, ivory workers, cobblers etc, apart from the high-caste persons, thus showing the importance of all the members of the society of economic units; and it may be noted that lands were granted not only to the upper caste Hindus, but also to persons belonging to the so-called lower order. Besides, the Paschimbhag as well as other epigraphs like the Nidhanpur plates of Mahārājādhirāja Bhāskaravarmā, Tippera grant of Lokanātha, and Kalapur plate of Maruṇḍanātha prove the existence of brahmanas with surnames Datta, Dāma, Pāla, Nandi, Kara, Dhara, Soma, Nāga, Vasu, Mitra, Ghosha, Pālita etc. in the 7th-10th century A.D. All these surnames, however, are now borne by non-brahmins. It is a matter worth investigating as to why, when and how these surnames came to be associated with the members of non-brahmanical order. Two items of information given by the author may be noted in passing. First, 'people with surnames, Datta, Dāma, Nandi, Pala, Kara, Soma, Dhara etc.—are still living in the district of Sylhet and particularly in that area which was once known as the Chandrapura-vishaya area of Śrīhaṭṭamaṇḍala. Even now they enjoy a high social status (p. 148); second, there is a Kāyastha (non-brahmin) family with the Brahmin surname 'svāmī' at Latu near Panchakhanda area in the Sylhet

district (p. 55). Finally, the Bhakra copper plate of King Govinda-Keśava-deva is of considerable interest from the linguistic standpoint; while the language of the schedule portion of this record seems to be couched in Oriya and local Sylhet dialects, the language of its ll. 52-53 ('koshpī hudupta mahāsāchūho' etc) is as yet hardly recognisable.

There are a few shortcomings and mistakes and misconceptions in the present monograph. Thus when the author says that the "land of Bengal proper including Śrihaṭṭamaṇḍala was included in Paṇḍravardhana-bhukti" (p. 116), he seems to have shared the misconception made long ago by S. N. Majumdar Sastri. The combined testimony of the Govindapur and Sunderban copper plates of Lakshmaṇasena and the Rakshaskhali grant of Śrīmadḍommanapāla clearly shows that Vardhamānabhukti (roughly modern Burdwan division) was never included in Paṇḍravardhanabhukti, even at its maximum extent. Elsewhere (p. 117) the author says, though with an amount of doubt, that no other copper plate but the Paschimbhag discovered in Bengal (East Pakistan or West Bengal) mentions Vaṅgāla country. The Madhyapādā inscription of Viśvarūpasena, however, mentions a tract named 'Bāṅgālabadā', situated in Nāvya in Vaṅga, included within the Paṇḍravardhanabhukti (N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal* pp. 146, 147); this Bāṅgālabadā can scarcely be dissociated from Vaṅgāla. Besides, the author seems to be in favour of the expression 'Northern nāgavī' in connection with the script of the records. To us, however, 'proto-Bengali' seems to be a better and perhaps more accurate expression. In preparing the genealogy of Śrihaṭṭa Kings the author has depended much on a manuscript 'Haṭṭanāther pūñchālī' the details of which work have not been supplied by him. Even if it is a valuable manuscript, it would not be wise enough to place too much and exclusive reliance on it. The carelessness of the author is also apparent on some occasions (e.g., the application of the title 'Mahārājā' to Śrichandra who was actually a Mahārājādhirāja). The shortcomings relating to the printing and the production of the book, though due to some material factors, could have been removed. Most of the plates of the epigraphs are not useful; estampages should have better served the purpose. The absence of index is also a dismaying feature. The author would have done well if he had followed the norm set in the *Epigraphia Indica* or similar series.

Nonetheless, *the Copper Plates of Sylhet* is a welcome publication to be used with profit by scholars as well as general readers interested in Indian history.

KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

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A BLACK STONE IMAGE FROM CHIRUṬĪ (MURŚIDĀBĀD, WEST BENGAL)

(Communicated in March, 1968)

S. R. DAS

In the middle of the 19th century Capt. Layard witnessed a mutilated black stone image under a banyan tree by the side of a mound called Rākshasīdāngā, near Chiruṭī Railway Station on the Eastern Railway, 119 miles from Howrah. A short description of the image including a free-hand sketch was presented by Layard in his article on '*The Ancient City of Kansonapuri Now Called Rungamutty*' published in the Asiatic Society's Journal in 1853. But nothing was known about the whereabouts of this image for more than one hundred years. During 1928-29 the Archaeological Survey of India carried out excavations at the same mound, but no mention of this image has been made in the Report published in 1933.

During 1964-65 while engaged in excavation work at Rājbandīdāngā, I came to know about a mutilated stone image in the possession of Sri Santosh Sen of Sātui village (Chumrigāchā Railway Station). I went to the residence of Sri Sen and found to my utter surprise the very image, a sketch of which was published in the Society's Journal in 1853. On inquiry, I learnt that a few years before, Sri Sen brought the image from the neighbourhood of the very place where it was witnessed by Layard. Sri Sen made a gift of the image to the Department of Archaeology of the University of Calcutta.

In 1853 Layard presented the following account of the stone image:

"A curious six-armed image was found in the bed of the tank (*Jamunā-Tālāo*) some years ago and transferred to the foot of the magnificent Banyan tree at Rungamutty, where, I regret to say, it has been sadly mutilated and destroyed. It represented a figure kneeling on one knee, and is said by the people of the place to be *Beni-Ka-Thakoorain*, but I should fancy that Goddess *Kālī* is intended. The two outer and the front arms have been broken off, the centre right arm apparently holds what may have been a human victim suspended by the feet, but the object is too much injured to form any concrete idea of its original shape. The hinder right arm is in the act of drawing an arrow from a quiver suspended at the back of the Goddess, whilst the corresponding arm on the left holds the bow. The centre left arm appears to support a lotus flower or other insignia, but the upper part of the figure has been too much mutilated to trace anything correctly" (Pls. I & II).

From the illustration of the sketch of the image published in the Journal of the Society in 1853 and the one presented by Sri Sen it is evident that the two images are identical (Pls. I & II). Besides presenting a variant sketch, Layard has not also reported a faithful account of the image itself. It is, therefore, necessary to present here a true picture of the image which is now in the custody of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Calcutta.

The image made of black stone is indeed badly mutilated as reported by Layard. It is evident that the image was the victim of deliberate sharp-cuts by a lethal weapon. Its total length is 4'1" (including the rectangular tang) and the maximum width of the pedestal-base is 2'7". The end of the tang is rectangular measuring 2'4" × 6".

This black stone is an adaptation in Bengal, perhaps from the Rājmahal hills. The back of the image reveals thick parallel lines which are indications of quarry-dressing. The quarry dressed side was left untouched, and only the other side was carved into the image in relief.

PLATE I



Black Stone Image from Rāṅgīmāṭi (removed to Sāṭui) presented to the
Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta.

Black Stone Image

PLATE II



*Black stone Image found in the Jummuna Tolao
at Rungumutti*

On the Site of the ancient City of Kansara-puri

Sketch of Black Stone Image drawn by Layard and published in Asiatic Society's
Journal, 1853

PLATE I



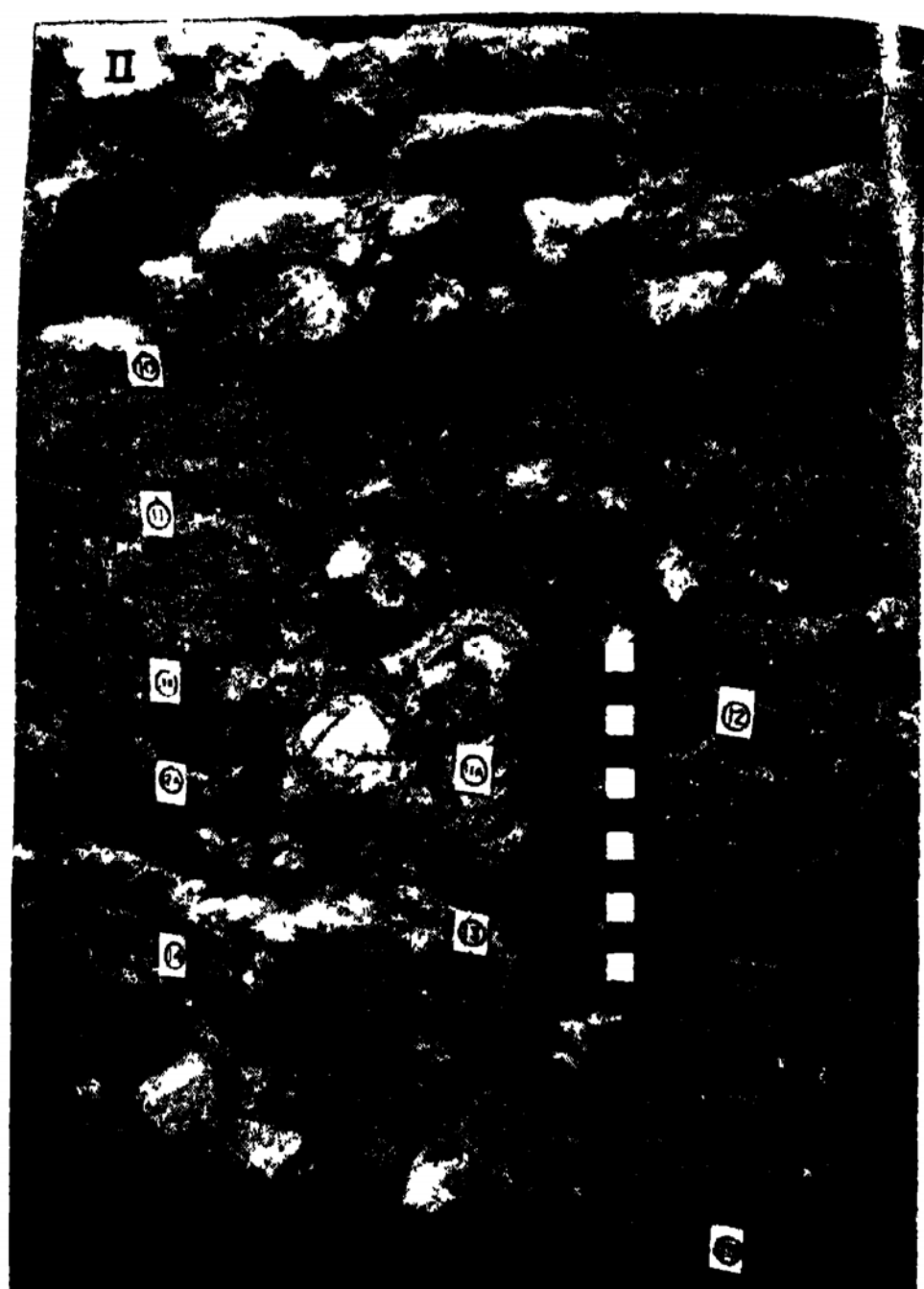
(a) Tr.A⁵: A general view of the Skull below the wall



(b) Tr.A⁵: A close view of the wall and Skull below

PLATE II

(a) 'Tr. A': A close view of the Skull in Foundation Trench of the wall showing the running of layers, foundation brickbats, etc.



(b) 'Tr. A': Another close view of the Skull in the Foundation Trench of the wall showing brickbats, potsherd, etc.

The upper part of the background and right side of the image are broken. Below, the animal-head on left is also damaged, but manes on right are partly extant. The head-gear and the facial portion of the image up to its breast demonstrate a sharp cut. The pedestal-base is plain and bears some chisel or cut-marks.

The image is an eight-armed deity (not six-armed as described by Layard). The arms of the image are all damaged. On right, all arms are mutilated excepting the lower and the upper ones. The upper arm holds a quiver and the attribute of the lower one is not clear. On left, four arms are partly extant, and the first and the third arms hold lotus and bow. The deity is a dynamic standing figure. Its left leg rests on the pedestal and the right one, on the body of the animal below.

The figure is less ornamented. It wears a necklace consisting of circular beads and a hanging pendant. Both feet wear plain anklets and hands, armlets. The first arm on left wears an armlet comprising one row of beaded lines.

The drapery is plain. The whole body is wrapped in a *sāḍi* with foldings. The *sāḍi* goes round the legs exhibiting their contours and the middle one slopes down to the back of the animal below. The *mukuta* or head-gear, though mutilated, seems to be conical and ornamented (Pl. I).

The animal below is a double headed composite figure, buffalo and lion. On right, the buffalo head bears two prominent horns and beautifully chiselled eyes. On left, the head of the lion is damaged, but its manes are partly visible. The pedestal or the base and the tang are plain and bears only a few chisel-marks. The upper part of the background is damaged and the extant edges on right and left bear circular beaded line decoration.

On the whole, the image exhibits a graceful appearance, and the workmanship does not appear crude. The absence of old vigour and composition is noteworthy. Subtle gracefulness and loveliness are its characteristic features. The position and the pose of the figure appear to be vigorous and dynamic.

The image is a representation of *Mahishamardini* and not *Kālī* as reported by Layard. The attributes of the eight armed *Mahishamardini* are generally discus, trident, arrow, sword, index-finger, buckler, bow and hair of the demon. Here, the demon is absent and the deity stands on the animal itself. In spite of the indeterminate attributes of the present deity due to mutilation and the absence of the figure of the demon it may be contended that the image represents the Goddess *Mahishamardini* (Pl. I).

The present double headed animal is very significant. This kind of composite animal form is very rare. The lion is the vehicle of the deity Durgā, and *mahisha* is the animal from which the demon came out. Here, the sculptor presented the two animals in a noble way by carving out the heads of both the buffalo and the lion on the right and left of the same animal-body. Accordingly, it may be contended that the figure represents the *Mahishamardini*-Durgā, the most popular Goddess of Bengal. Significant features of the image are: composite animal form, resting of the left leg of the deity on the pedestal, less ornamentation, graceful appearance, etc. On the basis of the extant features the image may be attributed to the seventh-eighth century A.D.

The description of the image given above differs considerably from the one presented by Layard in 1853. But from the illustrations it is clear that the two images are identical. It is, therefore, apparent that Layard did not present a faithful account of the image which he witnessed at Rāṅgāmāṭi and a sketch of which he published in the Asiatic Society's Journal in 1853 (Pls. I, II).

FOUNDATION HUMAN SACRIFICE

(Communicated in June, 1968)

S. R. DAS

From indeterminable time, man has been observing the ritual practice of depositing sacrificed human beings, wholly or partly, and more generally the skull, in the foundation trenches of buildings or any other structures. Many legends of human sacrifice relating to the erection of embankments, building of castles or temples or houses, digging of trenches, construction of bridges, *etc.*, for imparting strength and vitality are widely current throughout the world. There are also many records of accidental or casual findings of human skulls or bone fragments during diggings or redigging of foundations of some dilapidated buildings. But concrete archaeologically stratified records regarding foundation human sacrifice are rare.

During excavations at Rājibāḍidāṅgā (Murśidābād district, West Bengal) in 1964, an extremely interesting record of the foundation human sacrifice was unearthed. This discovery relates to the finding of a fragmentary human skull lying in position in the foundation trench below an exposed wall in one of the excavated trenches (Tr. A5; Pl. I).

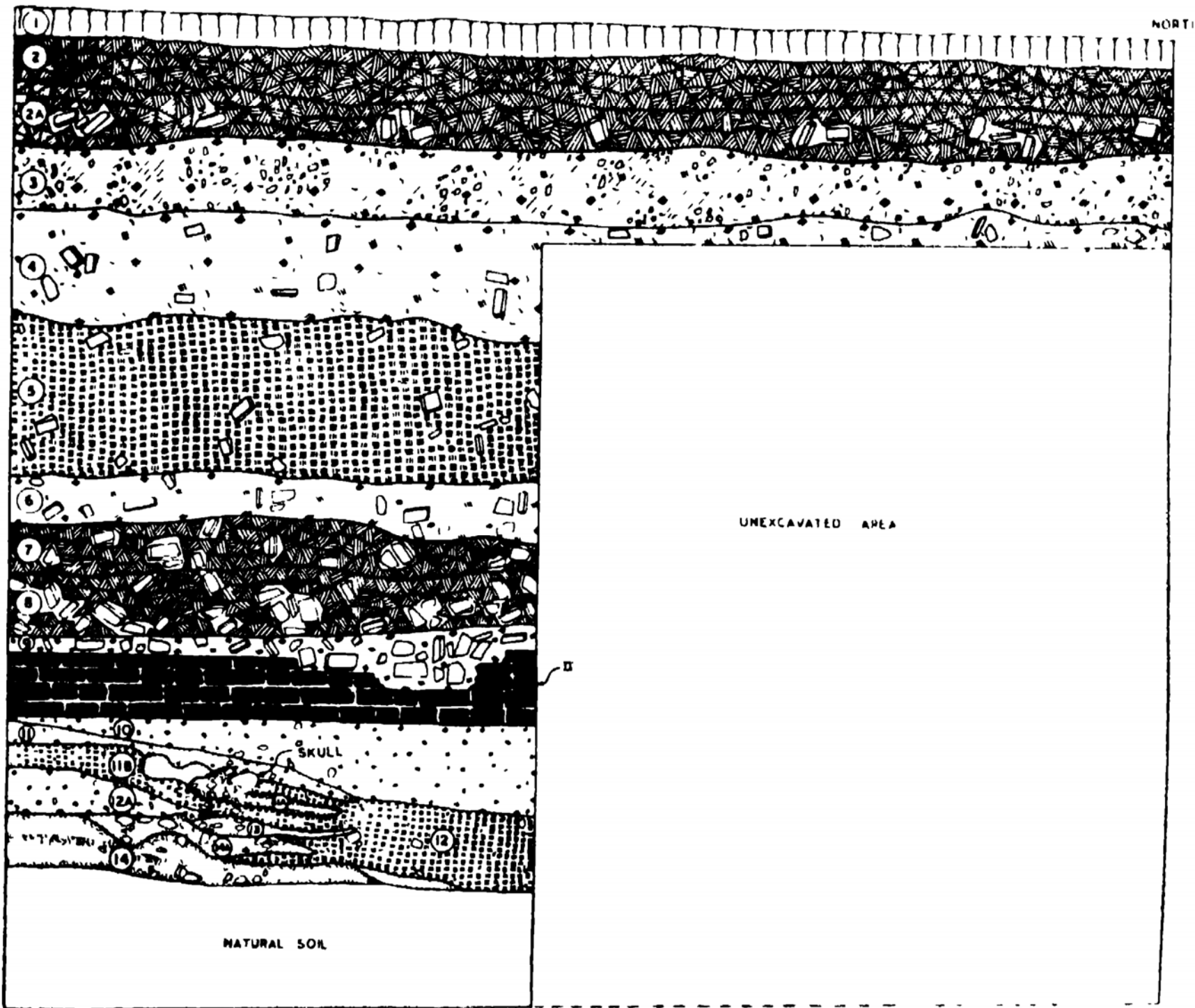
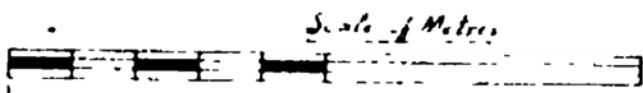
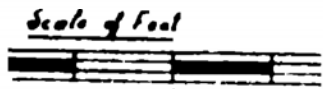
Digging up to a depth of 9'10" below surface, brick debris were exposed throughout the excavated area. On the removal of these bricks, a regular wall was uncovered. It was a massive wall built on layer 10 consisting of silt clay-deposition of 4" in thickness. Below layer (10), ran layers (11), (11a), (11b), (12), (12a), (13) and (14) (Pls. Ia, b; III). The nature and character of these layer-depositions are not essentially different excepting a little variation in colour. Most of these layers are, however, devoid of any evidence of human occupation. Excluding brickbats, only one pot-sherd was found lying near the skull (Pl. II, a, b). The whole deposition appeared to have been the result of an accumulation of silt laid by an inundation. The running of so many layers in this excavated area is a clear indication of disturbances, perhaps caused by the cutting of the foundation trench of the wall. The silt deposition in north-eastern corner of the cutting area of the trench ran downwards up to a depth of 12'6" below surface and in south-eastern direction, the natural soil was exposed at a depth of 11' below surface.

At a depth of 11'2" below surface and 88.8 ft. above mean sea level and at 1'7" below the top brick course of the wall the fragmentary human skull was exposed. The skull was found lying on layer (11a), and layer (11) was the covering one. Disturbances in earth-depositions continued up to the running of layer (14). Below layer (14) was unearthed the natural soil marked as (15). Layer (11a) on which was laid the skull consisted of brickbats and a single sherd (Pl. II). It was quite evident that the skull was deliberately laid in position in layer (11a).

The area covered by the skull measured 9" x 6". The general orientation of the skull was from north to south. But the frontal portion was found lying in the south-eastern direction. The skull was found associated with brickbats and a single sherd (Pls. I & II). These are indeed foundation nodules.

PLATE II

SECTION
FACING WEST



a) Tr. A²: Section facing west showing the position of the Skull and running of layers

The skull was removed with earth and finally cleansed in the laboratory for scientific examination.

The skull has been examined by Dr. S. S. Sarkar of the University of Calcutta and Dr. B. Sarkar of N.R.S. Medical College, Calcutta. Dr. S. Sarkar reported that the skull belonged to an adult male above 20 years. Its two parietal regions show slanting cut-marks joining in the shape of an inverted Λ with its apex being on the sagittal suture. The cut-marks on the skull indicate the use of a sharp cutting heavy weapon. It has been also evident that cuts were inflicted one upon another. From the nature of levelling of cut-marks it may be presumed that the injuries were caused on a decapitated head. This finding of Dr. S. Sarkar has been confirmed by Dr. B. Sarkar. It follows accordingly that the head was chopped off and then its two parietal regions were cut off with a definite purpose. It is only after cutting the two parietal regions that the head was carefully laid in the foundation trench of this Phase II wall. (Pls. I, II).

The custom of burying the sacrificed human being, wholly or partly, in the foundation trench of a building has a magical virtue of rendering the structure stable and impregnable. In the present example, only a portion of the skull, the brain container, has been carefully deposited in the foundation trench. In this connection, it may be noted that this Phase II wall was built on the silt deposition. Further, on the removal of this structure, another wall built on the natural soil was also exposed. It has been found out that the first occupation at the site was destroyed by a flood from the river Bhāgīrathī. Naturally so, when the second Phase structure was built, all possible steps were undertaken to make it impregnable. This human sacrifice and the deposition of the skull in the foundation trench with all associated rituals were perhaps the magical undertakings directed towards that end. On stratigraphical evidences, Phase II structure at the site is to be ascribed to c. second-fifth century A.D.* Further, the discovery of the skull in the foundation trench is perhaps an indication of the prevalence of the Tantric Cult practices at that time.

On the strength of the contents of a large number of inscribed terracotta seals and other objects discovered during excavations, the present site of Rājbaḍḍidāṅgā has been firmly identified with the illustrious *Raktamrittikā-Vihāra* visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th Century A.D. The monastery buildings at the site have been attributed to Phase III.

The discovery of this archaeological record of foundation human sacrifice is the first of its kind in this part of our country. Similar records of the deposition of human skulls and bones have been also discovered during subsequent excavations at the site.

* S. R. Das, Rājbaḍḍidāṅgā, p. 25.

STUCCO HEADS FROM RĀJBĀḌĪDĀNGĀ

(Communicated in August, 1968)

S. R. DAS

Stucco plastic modelling attained perfection during the first few centuries of the Christian era. In India, Taxila was the earliest and representative centre of the stucco art-creation. The practice of stucco modelling first began at Taxila in the first century A.D. and became an integral part of the composite art-productions of the Gandhāra school. Like other Gandhāra art-creations, the beginning of the stucco modelling has been attributed also to extraneous origins. The stucco art at Taxila reached its highest excellence in the 4th century A.D.

In eastern India, Nālandā, Rājgīr and parts of Bengal yielded examples of stucco art-production. The stucco art-creations from Bengal are exemplified by a few specimens comprising both casual and excavated finds. Significant casual finds were recovered from the districts of Rājsāhi and Murśidābād. While ploughing a field in the village name Tejnandī, Rājsāhi district, a fairly large head was found. The specimen is now in the custody of Prof. S. K. Saraswati. Besides, two heads were recovered from Murśidābād district, and they are now preserved in the West Bengal State Archaeological gallery and Ashutosh Museum. One of these stucco heads was found while digging the foundation trench of a school building in the village Madhupur, near Chiruti Railway Station.

In Bengal, excavated examples of stucco art-creations including stucco heads came from Rākshasīdāngā (Murśidābād district) and Pāhāḍpur (Rājsāhi district). The excavation at Rākshasīdāngā during 1928-29 yielded no less than ninety-five stucco fragments of which at least five to six are reported to be the heads of the Buddha. Several examples of stucco heads were also recovered during excavations at Pāhāḍpur. But the stratigraphical sequences of these findings from Rākshasīdāngā and Pāhāḍpur are not known.

In recent years, the excavations at Rājbaḍīdāngā (Murśidābād district) in 1962 and 1964 yielded several stucco heads and mouldings. Here, the discovery of two stucco heads in 1962 is communicated with comments. The illustrated stucco head No: (a) (Pl. I) is partly damaged. The top of the head, left side, upper portion of the nose and lower part of the chin are lost. The specimen displays wide forehead and hair- indications are absent. The total breadth of the head is 53 mm. The left eye is damaged and the right one is extant. The eye is a long horizontal one. The upper eye-lid is thicker, raised and bold. Indications of eye-brows are absent. The upper part of the nose is broken. Though the nasion is damaged, the nose appears to be sunken at the root. Its wings are broad and the nostrils have narrow but deep openings. The nasal height and width measure 25 mm. and 19 mm. The mouth is indicated by a deep longitudinal cut. The upper and lower lips are thick and a little everted. Only the ear on right is extant. The ear is a long and broad one measuring 23 mm. in length and 21 mm. in breadth. The face is broad and the chin is markedly present.

The example No. (b) is also a fragmentary one. Its right side and the top of the head are damaged. Only the left side of the head is well preserved. The frontal portion of the head is not so wide as in specimen No. (a). The top of the head is damaged, but there are traceable indications of hair consisting of deep cut- lines. The left eye and the inner canthus of the right one are extant. The eye is long and narrow measuring 17mm. in length and 4 mm. in breadth. The eye-lid is not very prominent. The eye-form is extremely elegant and pleasing.

PLATE I



(a) Front view of Stucco Head No. 1
from Rājbadīdangā

(b) Profile of Stucco Head No. 2
from Rājbadīdangā



The example has a fine, long and straight nose. Its wings are not so wide, and the nose is not sunken at the root. It is straight from nasion to its tip. The length and breadth of the nose are 17 mm. and 12 mm. respectively. The nostrils have been separated from the upper lip by sharp cut-lines without showing deep openings. The mouth has been displayed by another cut. The lips are not thick, and the lower one is short and bold. The chin is well-marked.

Distinctive features of these two stucco heads may be thus compared:

- (i) The specimen No. (a) is larger than No. (b).
- (ii) The frontal portion of No. (a) is wider than that of No. (b).
- (iii) Eye-forms and eye-lids of the two specimens also differ.
- (iv) The nose of No. (b) is straight, long and pointed and that of No. (a) is broad and perhaps sunken at the root.
- (v) Wings of the nose of No. (a) are broader than those of No. (b).
- (vi) Nostrils are absent in No. (a).
- (vii) The mouth-cut of No. (a) is wider and deeper than that of No. (b).
- (viii) Hair-indications are absent in No. (a), but traceable in No. (b).
- (ix) The face of No. (b) is not so broad as that of No. (a).

On the whole, the specimen No. (b) displays a fine and graceful appearance. But the modelling of both the heads represents skilful handling. In spite of certain dissimilarities in facial expressions of these two heads, the techniques of making and finishing are all alike.

From the physical features of these two stucco heads, it appears that they perhaps represent two distinct ethnic types. The determination of ethnic types from sculptural representations would be, however, unscientific. But the general form and ethnic peculiarities can be well discerned and certain conclusions may be drawn. The art-creation is a traditional one and the forms and features are mostly conventional. In respect of these two examples, it can be said that they represent two ethnic types, course and graceful.

Unfortunately, these two stucco heads were recovered from a huge deposition of debris consisting of innumerable pot-sherds and other minor antiquities including a metal *Dharmachakra* belonging to c. seventh-eighth century A.D. On stratigraphical and other evidences at the site, these two stucco heads are to be attributed to cultural Period II dating from c. fifth-sixth century to ninth-tenth century A.D.* During subsequent excavations several excellent examples of stucco heads were also recovered from stratified levels. One of these heads, a large and crude one, was retrieved from a lower level belonging to c. fourth century A.D., and other examples are to be attributed to culture Period II. The stratigraphical datings assigned to the stucco heads are also attested by the stylistic consideration.

Like those in Taxila and other places, the Buddhist shrines uncovered at Rājbandīdāngā were also externally plastered with lime and adorned with stucco mouldings and heads.

The problem connected with the stucco heads from Rājbandīdāngā is primarily the question of determining the origin and development of the art of stucco modelling in Bengal. It is generally believed that the techniques of stucco art-creations in different parts of India diffused from Taxila. In general, the stucco heads from Rājbandīdāngā display elegant features of the Gupta sculptural art. In material compositions, techniques of making and in other essentials the Rājbandīdāngā stucco heads differ primarily from their Taxila counterparts. If the stucco art from Taxila reached its excellence

* See S. R. Das, *Rājbandīdāngā*, p. 25.

in the fourth century A.D. and declined subsequently, the diffusion possibly took place after this period. But Rājibādīdāṅgā produced one extremely interesting coarse specimen from the earliest level belonging to c. fourth century A.D. Accordingly, it appears that the development of stucco modellings at Rājibādīdāṅgā is almost contemporaneous with those of Taxila. It is suggested that the stucco art in Bengal had a local and perhaps an independent origin. These stucco art-creations at Rājibādīdāṅgā are indeed the handiworks of the local craftsman.

The popularity of the stucco art-creation is to be associated with the growth and spread of the *Māhāyāna* Buddhism and establishment of the Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries. By about the fifth century A.D., more and more creations of the Buddha images came to be regarded as works of great merit and the goal of salvation and hence, arose the widespread practice of erecting shrines and *stūpas* adorned with innumerable images of the Buddha. This is what happened in Bengal as well. But this stucco art in Bengal did not long continue. After the eighth-ninth century A.D., the stucco art in Bengal declined and its place was perhaps taken by the terracotta art-production.

DISCOVERY OF A METAL DHARMACHAKRA

(Communicated in September, 1968)

S. R. DAS

Adoration and actual worship of *Dharmachakra* (Wheel of Law), singly or along with other representations, was a central theme in both early and late Buddhism. But unfortunately, only a very few concrete specimens of *Dharmachakra* and solid archaeological records of its independent worship are known in India. Here, the discovery of an excellent example of a metal *Dharmachakra* is communicated with comments.

The present specimen is a cast from mould, and the material is *ashṭadhātu*. (Pl. Ia, b). The total length of the *Chakra* including its base and projection below is $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". The *Chakra* has a floral pedestal base with volutes of leaves which carry the wheel aloft. Volutes of leaves have not been, however, uniformly represented on both sides of the pedestal base. The ascending axis or the stalk holding volutes of leaves has a rounded flat base marked with criss-cross lines. The diameter of the wheel is $1\frac{3}{4}$ " and its inner circle containing the spokes has a diameter of $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The weight of the *Chakra* is 148 gm. There are eight spokes radiating from the central block or nave. The central point of the nave bears a rounded protuberance or knob of $\frac{1}{4}$ " in length. Each spoke measures $\frac{7}{8}$ " $\times$ $\frac{1}{4}$ ", and the stalk is $\frac{5}{8}$ " in length, and the diameter of its flat ring-base is $\frac{7}{8}$ ". The maximum breadth of the volutes of leaves below the *Chakra* is $2\frac{1}{8}$ ". The *Chakra* is elaborately ornamented. Its border bears a chain of beaded decoration all around with five studs, two on right, two on left and one at the top in the central position. Both sides of the *Chakra* are similar excepting a little variation in foliage patterns below.

The spokes of the wheel have been made to resemble petals of a lotus and below, is the stem with volutes of leaves and flowers. The *Chakra* with its petal-like spokes represents an eight petalled full blown lotus. This metal wheel standing on a pedestal ornamented with floral motifs and vegetal devices is to be identified with the Buddhist *Dharmachakra*. The wheel and the lotus are pre-Buddhist symbols and both are also commonly associated with the Brahmanical deities.

The wheel or *Dharmachakra* is found frequently represented in Buddhist reliefs. But the extant finds of *Dharmachakra* and evidences of its independent worship are very few. An interesting instance of the *Dharmachakra*-worship is found in Sāñchi reliefs. At the top of a panel, the *Chakra* is found on a pedestal flanked by the devotees. But it is Amarāvati which has yielded a beautiful specimen of a stone *Dharmachakra* on a pillar flanked by devotees with folded hands and *Devas* with offerings. This specimen belongs to c. 100 A.D. Another large stone *Dharmachakra* has been discovered from Lingarājupalem (Visākhapatnam district). Its diameter is $3\frac{1}{4}$ " and the tenon measures $6\frac{3}{4}$ " $\times$ 7". The tenon was perhaps meant to fit into a mortise. The border of the *Chakra* is well decorated with alternating *triratna* and leaf motifs. A beautiful *Dharmachakra* has been also discovered from Pāhāḍpur (North Bengal).

The metal *Chakra* under discussion was discovered during excavations at Rājibāḍidāngā (Murśidābād district) conducted by the University Department of Archaeology. The specimen is a complete one. It was retrieved from layer (3) at a depth of 5'6" below surface. The same layer yielded also two stucco heads of the Gupta period, fine polished sherds and other rich minor antiquities. On the strength of stratigraphical records and datable finds, this *Chakra* may be attributed to c. seventh-eighth century A.D.

Several specimens of stone *Dharmachakra* are known from South-east Asia, more particularly from Siam. One example from Prapatom bears a pedestal with a lotus flower and volutes of leaves. This specimen has been ascribed to the fifth-sixth century A.D., perhaps a little later. Many more examples of the stone *Dharmachakra* have been also recovered from Dvārāvati and other sites. Some finer examples from these places were carved in the round. This reminds us of their Indian counterparts. ♦

Dharmachakras from Amarāvati, Visakhapatnam, Siam and other sites are all in stone. But very little is known about any metal *Dharmachakra* and its independent worship. It appears that at first, stone *Dharmachakra* was only worshipped and subsequently, with the introduction of metal-casting in some centres, the *Chakra* was produced in metal. Rājibādīdāṅgā was also such a metal-casting centre. This is also attested by the discovery of bronze figures of the Buddha and Gaṇeśa.

It is quite likely that the practice of carving *Dharmachakra* in stone and its independent worship travelled to South-east Asia either from Amarāvati or *Raktamṛttikā*. In this context, a reference may be made to an inscription from Malaya Peninsula, which speaks of the great navigator Buddhagupta, a native of *Raktamṛttikā*, who travelled to Malaya Peninsula for trade. This *Raktamṛttikā* is now to be firmly identified with Rājibādīdāṅgā, the site under excavation. During excavations at the site many inscribed terracotta sealings bearing the name of *Raktamṛttikā* has been discovered. Some of these seals were the official tokens of the *Raktamṛttikā-Vihāra**. The illustrious *Raktamṛttikā* monastery visited by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D. might have also played an important role in the diffusion of Buddhism in South-east Asia.

The discovery of this metal *Dharmachakra* from Rājibādīdāṅgā is unique of its kind. Independent worship of this *Chakra* is attested by its nature and form. It follows also that the worship of *Dharmachakra* singly was perhaps practised by certain Buddhist sects of the great *Raktamṛttikā* monastery which is to be identified with Rājibādīdāṅgā. In the absence of its counterpart in any other centre, it may be contended that the *Chakra* was a local product. This metal *Dharmachakra* is perhaps the only known example of its kind. From all these points of view, the discovery of this metal *Dharmachakra* from Rājibādīdāṅgā bears a great historical import.

* S. R. Das, *Rājibādīdāṅgā*, pp. 58-59.

PLATE I



‘Metal Dharmachakra’



(a)

(a) and (b) Both Faces of Metal *Dharma-*
chakra discovered from Rājbaḍiḍaṅgā,
Murśidābād District, West Bengal.



PLATE I



(a) Profile of the Bronze Head



(b) Front view of the Bronze Head

'A Miniature Bronze Head'

A MINIATURE BRONZE HEAD

(Communicated on November, 1968)

S. R. DAS

The present communication relates to the recovery of a remarkable miniature bronze head, perhaps of a Buddhist divinity, from Rājbaḍḍiḍāṅgā (Murśidābād district, West Bengal).

The head is an unstratified find recovered from a dump. It is a small head measuring 2.3 cm. in length. The head is corroded and slightly damaged, more particularly the eye on left.

This bronze head is characterized by elongated face, rounded cheek, sharply projecting and pointed nose, long ear-lobes and pointed chin. The lips are short and medium in thickness; the lower one is a little everted. The head wears a crown with beaded decoration below. The hair-dressing is conventional and consists of a semi-circular twisted knot at the back (Pl. I).

In general, the head displays sharp and charming features. Its countenance is extremely impressive and lovely. The style is mature and indicates the working of a master-hand. In certain respects, the head is reminiscent of the classical Gupta art-creation. It also reminds one of some bronze figures from Nālandā and Kurkihār.

Iconographic identification of this miniature bronze head is uncertain. The present specimen resembles, though not exactly, the two bronze heads from Nālandā, now preserved in the National Museum. One of these two heads from Nālandā has been identified with the Buddhist divinity *Tārā* and the other, with *Hārīti*. It may be suggested that the present miniature female head from Rājbaḍḍiḍāṅgā might represent either of these two Buddhist divinities, more particularly that of *Tārā*. In this connection, it is extremely interesting to note that a complete bronze figure of *Tārā* has been also recovered from Maināmati. The present head resembles considerably the head of the Maināmati example.

The head of *Hārīti* from Nālandā belonged to the reigning period of Devapāla (ninth century A.D.). But the head of *Tārā* displays certain features which indicate an earlier date, *i.e.*, eighth century A.D. This lovely miniature bronze head from Rājbaḍḍiḍāṅgā may be also tentatively ascribed to c. eighth-ninth century A.D. This dating of the specimen under discussion agrees well with the stratified bronze figures of the Buddha and Gaṇeśa recovered during excavations at the site in 1964-65.

DISCOVERY OF AN INSCRIBED FRAGMENTARY STONE PEDESTAL

(Communicated in December, 1968)

S. R. DAS

The present communication relates to the discovery of a black stone pedestal bearing an inscription, human figures and foliage devices executed in low and high relief. While conducting archaeological explorations during 1965-66 in the Rāḍha tract on the western side of the Bhāgīrathī in the district of Murśidābād, the present stone pedestal was found partially imbedded along with many other fragmentary carved stones under a banyan tree in the open field, near the village Bhaṅgā Milkī (Murśidābād) (Pl. Ia).

This pedestal of black stone measuring 14" × 9" in *pañcharatha* form, both in its upper and lower parts, is quite in conformity with five images whose feet are extant on five *padmapīṭhas*. The representations on the pedestal have been well executed in low and high relief on its three parts. The upper part bears five *padmapīṭhas* (lotus-seats) in a row; the central one is the largest, and others are smaller in sizes and lower in grades of relief. Each *padmapīṭha* composed of a double inverted full blown lotus bears one pair of beautiful carved feet. Five fingers on each foot have been prominently indicated by incised cut-lines. Each foot wears again nicely carved anklets indicated by double bands composed of dots, and two pairs of anklets on immediate right and left have been shown by single dotted bands. But the anklets on last two pairs of feet on extreme right and left have been represented by plain bands. The sizes of the images can be gleamed from the sizes of feet resting on lotus-seats. Besides, on left and right of the central *padmapīṭha*, there are two lotus-representations executed in relief (Pl. Ib).

On the front-surface of the upper central *ratha* measuring 4½" × ½" and beneath the central *padmapīṭha*, a short inscription in one line is extant:

श्रीमदवाकस्य ॥

The inscription from left to right ends with two vertical strokes and it reads: *Śrīmadvākasya*, i.e., of Śrīmadvāka; perhaps the deity belonged to the prosperous or glorious *VĀKA* (a personal name). The letters of the inscription are in characters of the tenth-eleventh century A.D. (Pl. Ib).

The front-surface of the central part of the pedestal below the *padmapīṭhas* is fully covered by foliage devices and human figures carved in bold relief. The vegetal and floral devices have been all well executed in luxurious curves. In spite of exuberent and luxurious curves, a perfect balance has been maintained. Below the central *ratha* bearing the inscription, there is the representation of a short stylised flower flanked perhaps by two floral devices or mythical figures carved in relief. These two figures appear to have been executed in a conventional style with short arms, prominent breast and long hair projecting backward, and its lower portion has been carved in conformity with the vegetal devices. But the representations might be conventional floral devices as well. Just below two *padmapīṭhas*, on left and right of the central one, there are two kneeling figures with folded hands and facing each other with a little frontward turning of their heads. These

PLATE I



(a) Stone Sculpture Fragments including the inscribed one lying under a banyan tree



(b) Stone Pedestal with inscription on the surface of the central *Ratha*

are indeed two *Garuḍa* devotees. The surface of the bottom *pañcharatha* has been left completely blank (Pl. Ib). From the middle of the pedestal protrudes a tapering projection (measuring $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$ and narrower end, $\frac{1}{4}''$) meant for fixation of the image. The back portion of the pedestal is fully covered by chisel-marks.

The identification of the images standing on the *padmapīṭhas* of this pedestal cannot be firmly determined on the basis of the extant feet alone. But on the analogy of similar other pedestals with extant images, the iconic representations on this example can be identified. Here, attention may be drawn to two Vishṇu images from Bengal and one from Mathura. The pedestals of these images resemble in minute details the present example. The *pañcharatha* form, *padmapīṭhas*, devotees beneath the second lotus seat on left and right of the central one, luxuriant foliage and vegetal devices, etc., are mostly alike in form and treatment. But in Nākkatitalā (Lālbāg, Murśidābād) example the central figure in the middle portion of the pedestal below the middle upper *ratha* and *padmapīṭha* there is a kneeling devotee facing front with folded hands. But the pedestal of the Vishṇu image from Sundarvan (now preserved in the Indian Museum) is in many respects similar to the present one. The central floral motif, devotees beneath the *padmapīṭhas* on left and right of the middle one, vegetal devices, etc., are all alike. But this example does not bear any inscription, and the floral devices differ a little in minute details. There is, however, another exactly identical pedestal of the Vishṇu image in the Indian Museum. It bears also a short inscription on the surface of the central *ratha* of the lower part and not on the upper *ratha* like the present one.

In all the above examples, the central deity is the *Sthānakamūrti* of Vishṇu holding *saṃkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and *padma* standing on the central *padmapīṭha*. Vishṇu is flanked by two deities holding *padma* and *viñā* respectively. They are standing in playful *bhaṅgas*. These two figures are to be identified with Lakshmī and Sarasvatī. On left and right of Lakshmī and Sarasvatī, there are two other standing figures, Jayā and Vijayā. They are all the *parivāra-devatās* (family deities) of Vishṇu. On the strength of the analogy of carvings on the pedestal and five pairs of feet on five *padmapīṭhas*, the central deity and other *devatās* on the lotus-thrones of the present example may be well identified with Vishṇu and the *parivāradevatās*.

There are only a few inscribed images from Bengal and the discovery of the present example is indeed an important addition. Its sculptured figures, ornamentations, carving of luxuriant foliage and vegetal devices, etc., correspond to the art-creation of the Pāla School of Eastern India. The ascription of this kind of Vishṇu images to the Pāla School is attested by the inscription on the present pedestal as described above, and it is to be attributed to c. tenth-eleventh century A.D.

A HABITAT OF THE PARODAI (=PĀRADAS)

(Communicated in January, 1968)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

According to W. H. Schoff's translation, a passage of the *Periplus tes Erythras Thalasses* states that "beyond the Ommanitic region there is a country, also of the Persidae, of another kingdom, and the Bay of Gedrosia, from the middle of which a cape juts out into the bay. Here there is a river affording entrance to the ships, with a little market-town at the mouth, called Oraea . . . ' (W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 36-37). It should be pointed out that the expression translated as "Persidae" appears in the text itself as *Parodon* (*Parodai*) (*Periplus*, sec. 37: H. Frisk, *Le Périphe de la Mer Érythrée*, p. 12, f.n. 13). C. Muller replaced the reading *Parodon* of the text by *Parsidon*. All subsequent editors and translators have followed this amendment. But since we know of a people called the Pāradas, this alteration is unnecessary.

It appears that the *Periplus* locates the country of the Parodai (=Pāradas) on the Bay of Gedrosia. The coast of the adjoining region of Scythia followed "a wide curve from the east across the depths of the bay". Through the country of the Pāradas flowed a river at the mouth of which was the town called Oraea. From the middle of the territory a cape jutted into the Bay of Gedrosia.

The above description of the western point of littoral Scythia places the eastern limit of the coastal area of the country of the Parodai in the neighbourhood of Cape Monze. The river in question is identified with the ancient Arabis and modern Purali (W. H. Schoff, *Op. cit.*, p. 161). Oraea should be the same as Ora, which Arrian placed among the Orietai dwelling on the western bank of the Arabis (*Anabaseos Alexandrou*, VI, 21-22).

The topographical details indicate that the country of the Pāradas included at least the coastal region of the Las Bela district of Baluchistan.

It is interesting to note that Ptolemy (VI, 21, 4) also placed Paradene in Gedrosia (in Baluchistan). This location fits in well with the reference in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 9-10) to the Pāradas "living near the sea and on the other side of the Sindhu" (the Indus).

It appears that one of the habitats of the Pārada people was once in Baluchistan.

AN INTERESTING PASSAGE IN THE *COSMOGRAPHIA* OF RAVENNA

(Communicated in April, 1968)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

The *Cosmographia* by an anonymous author of Ravenna is a compilation of the 7th or of the first half of the 8th century A.D. It has, however, undoubtedly incorporated much earlier materials. It expressly refers to earlier authorities like Castorius, Orosius, etc. (*Cosmographia*, II, 2, 2; II, 3, 1; II, 4, 2-3; etc.) and contains various descriptions of the Parthian empire (ibid., II, 4, 1-3; II, 8, 1; etc.), which should be dated before its downfall in c. A.D. 227 (or 228-229 ?).

The statement of the author of Ravenna, with which we are concerned, says that "adjoining Serica-India is the land which is called Parthia, which includes provinces, viz., Chorasnia, Socdiana, Sabeer, Parapanisidia, Ariana, Satraidia (and) Arachosia." (*Cosmographia*, II, 4, 1. Here *Ariana* is probably a mistake for *Aria*.).

It is quite clear from the *Cosmographia's* references to Parthia, including the one which locates the Gulf of Hyrcania to the north of Parthia, that the realm in question is that of the Imperial Parthians and not of the Indo-Parthians. On the other hand, the absence of the names of the western regions from the list of provinces of the Parthian empire shows that the enumeration is not exhaustive, and so the word "includes" should here mean "includes *inter alia*". Hence the evidence of the inclusion of a province in the above extract, and not of its exclusion from the passage concerned, can help us in determining the date of the data contained therein.

It should, however, be remembered that passages in the *Cosmographia* relating to the Parthian dominions sometimes contradict one another (compare *Cosmographia*, II, 4, 1 with *Cosmographia*, II, 8, 1-2) and hence all of them may not refer to one and the same age. Moreover, we cannot deny the possibility of the data, collected from different sources, having been telescoped in some of the statements of the author of Ravenna.

These impediments do not allow us to ascribe the above information on the Parthian territory to any particular period. Nevertheless, the passage concerned surely suggests that Parapanisidia, Arachosia, Satraidia, Sabeer, etc., were in the Parthian empire in one single period or at different times.

The land of Parapanisidia embraced, as Ptolemy's evidence should suggest (*Ptolemy*, VI, 18, 1f), the territory lying along the eastern and southern sides of the Hindu-Kush, and extending to Aria (a large area centering round Herat) and Arachosia (the Kandahar and Ghazni regions). One of its cities was Kaboura (i.e., Kabul) (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy*, edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri, p. 312). It must have included the Kabul valley or at least its upper portion.

Arachosia, as we have just noted, incorporated the Kandahar and Ghazni regions. Dionysios Periegetes seems to have located the habitat of the Satraidans (i.e., Satraidians) in a territory not far from the Indus and near the Aribes (river) and (the lands of the) Oreitans and the Arachotians (Dionysios Periegetes, *Orbis Descriptio*, 11. 1086 f). According to Arrian, the Orietai dwelt on the western bank of the Arabis (Arrian, *Anabaseos Alexandrou*, VI, 21-22), obviously the same as the Aribes and identifiable with the modern Purali or the Hab river. These topographical indications tend to place the country of the Satraidans or Satraidians in or near Baluchistan.

The name *Sabeer* reminds one of that of *Sovira* or *Sawira*, which denoted

in some early Indian sources the lower Indus area to the east of the Indus. (See our article in *Our Heritage*, 1967, vol. XV). It should, however, be recorded here that another passage of the *Cosmographia* states that between this country of the Parthians and India flows the river Indus (*Cosmographia*, II, 4, 3). A probable explanation may be that the information on Sabeer and that on the Indus (as forming the boundary between Parthia and India) are to be dated to two different periods.

It appears that the passage in question throws some light on the activities of the Imperial Parthians or the Arsacids in the Indian borderlands. As our knowledge of this aspect of the Arsacid history is very poor, the evidence of the *Cosmographia* seems to be important to students of Indo-Parthian history.

PTOLEMY'S *EMPORION*

(Communicated in July, 1968)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Several towns on or near the sea-coast of East Africa, Arabia, India and South-East Asia are designated by Ptolemy as *emporion* (Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesis*, IV, 7; VI, 7; VII, 1, 3-15 and 62; VII, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc.). On the other hand, as E. H. Warmington has pointed out, in Ptolemy's survey of the "west"—mostly included in the Roman empire—and of Egypt, also under Roman occupation, the word *emporion* (i.e. *emporium*) does not occur at all (E. H. Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 107). Again, the term in question is not attributed to all possible market-towns in or near littoral India. It is also interesting to note that Sopara is indicated as a market-town by sources earlier than and contemporary with Ptolemy (*Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. V, pp. 78, 82, etc.). The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refers to Suppara (i.e. Sopara) as a market-town (sec. 52). In Ptolemy's *Geography*, however, Soupura (i.e. Sopara) is described apparently as an ordinary place, and not as an *emporium* (Ptolemy *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 6).

These considerations definitely show that the word *emporion* (i.e. *emporium*), as it appears in Ptolemy's treatise, has a restricted connotation. The only conceivable import of the expression in question is that it denoted an oriental market-town, lying on or near the sea-coast and beyond the imperial frontiers of Rome, in the commerce of which entrepot a Roman subject like Ptolemy might be at least academically interested. Such an explanation is perfectly in agreement with the discovery of a Roman trading station near Pondicherry, identifiable with *Podouke emporion* of Ptolemy. This explanation shows that though E. H. Warmington is not correct in stating that Ptolemy generally designated as *emporion* only those sea-coast towns which the *Periplus* had called *nomina* and *enthesma*, he (i.e. Warmington) is right in concluding that this geographer used the term *emporion* in a restricted sense (CBREI, p. 107. See also M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 151-152; *Classical Quarterly*, vol. XLV, p. 157; Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, VII, 1, 14; *Ancient India*, no. 2, p. 124; etc.).

PĀRADĀNSHĀH OF THE PAIKULI INSCRIPTION

(Communicated in August, 1968)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

The Paikuli Inscription of Narseh (A.D. 293-302) furnishes a list of rulers who congratulated (?) him on his accession to the Sasanid throne after ousting Varhran (II) (E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, vol. I, pp. 117f). Among them were Kushānshāh, Caesar, Pāradānshāh, etc. (*ibid.*, pp. 117-118). It may be assumed that the appearance of the name of Pāradānshāh in the list referring *inter alia* to the Roman emperor implies his independent status. On the other hand, it is also not unlikely that his territory may have been substantially the same as P'rtn (Pāradān) or Paradene mentioned as a Sasanian province in the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I, the father of Narseh. P'rtn, i.e. the territory of the Paratas or Pāradas, may be located in Baluchistan (*Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, January, 1968, vol. III, no. I, p. 5). If these assumptions are correct, P'rtn (Pāratān) or Pāradān may be considered to have gained independence sometime between the dates of these two epigraphs. Pāradānshāh or the king of the Pārada state or people in question may have been either himself a Pārada or a ruler of a land which had been earlier named after the Pārades.

It may, however, be suggested, on the analogy of the assumption of the titles *Kushānshāh* and *Sakānshāh* by Sasanian governors and princes, that Pāradānshāh may have been a ruler of a subordinate rank. One can also argue that his territory was not the same as that referred to as P'rtn in the Naqsh-i-Rustam inscription of Shāpūr I.

Such objections to the theory of the independent status of Pāradānshāh, however, cannot altogether undermine his political importance in the days of Narseh as betrayed by the very inclusion of his name in the list of rulers who congratulated (?) the Sasanian sovereign on his accession to the throne. This evidence of the Paikuli inscription is also relevant to the history of the Pāradas about whose activities we know very little, even though their name is well-known in Indian literature.

THREE COINS FROM NORTH BENGAL

(Communicated in November, 1968)

P. K. BHATTACHARYYA

Of the three coins, the first two belong to the Akshay Kumar Maitreya Historical Museum, North Bengal University, and the third one to a private collection.

1. A Coin of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa (A.D. 1587-1622).

Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa became the ruler of Western Koch kingdom on his father Nara Nārāyaṇa's death in 1587 A.D. (Gait. *A History of Assam*, 1926, pp. 46-69). Immediately after his accession he issued coins and as such all his coins found so far, bear the date of his accession. The present one is a rupee coin of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa and like other Koch coins, it is also round in shape. The Koch rupees closely follow the model of one of the coins of Husain Shāh of Bengal (Stapleton's view in *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 153; also Botham's *Catalogue of Provincial Coin Cabinet*, Assam, 1930, p. 525).

The inscriptions are in Sanskrit, in an archaic Bengali script, and are similar to those found on the Āhōm Coins.

This is the second of the two coins of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa collected by the Museum so far and is almost similar to the first one described by the author in the *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XXV, 1968.

<i>Obv. legend:</i>	(1) Śrī Śrī ma	<i>Rev. legend:</i>	(1) Śrī Śrī
In double circle	(2) llakṣmī Nārāya	In double circle	(2) Śiva carāṇa
with dots between	with dots		(3) kamala
	(3) ṇasya Śāke	between	madhu
	(4) 1509		(4) karasya

W. 10.c15 gm.

Presented by Sri N. C. Chowdhury of Jalpaiguri.

2. A coin of Gaurinātha Siṃha (A.D. 1780-1795).

After Lakṣmī Siṃha's death in 1780, the Yuvarāja Gaurinātha Siṃha was placed on the throne of the Āhom Kingdom (Gait., *op. cit.*, pp. 195-217). During this time the Vaiṣṇava section of the inhabitants of Assam constantly broke out into rebellion against their kings who were followers of Śiva. In 1794 A.D. Captain Welsh was deputed by Lord Cornwallis to help king Gaurinātha Siṃha, who was then being besieged at Gauhāti, and with his aid he was once more freed from his enemies (see Gait., *op. cit.*; Smith's *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I, 1906, pp. 294-97). Gaurinātha did not long survive his restoration to power.

But Gaurinātha is credited to have issued a number of coins, both in silver and gold (Smith, *op. cit.*; Botham, *op. cit.*). It was from the time of Rudra Siṃha (1696-1714) that the mint was kept constantly at work and smaller coins of 48 and 24 *ratis* were issued (the theoretical weight of a *rati*, being 1.8 grains). Śiva Siṃha issued still smaller coins weighing 12 and 6 *ratis*, but Gaurinātha Siṃha surpassed them all in this respect by issuing coins of 3 *ratis* (Gait., *op. cit.*, p. 242).

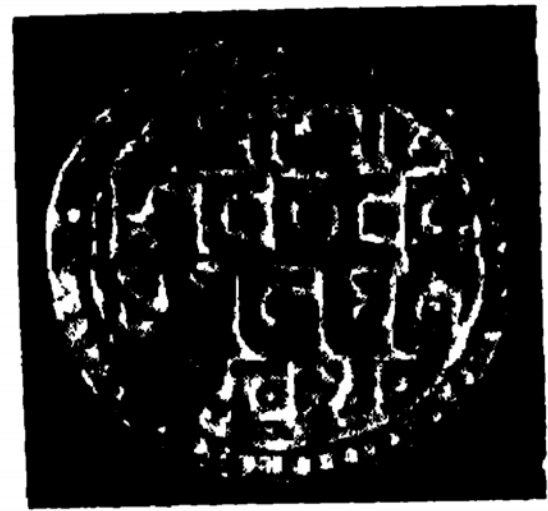
The peculiarity of the Āhom coins lay in their shape. The present coin is an instance in point. Instead of being circular, it is octagonal in accordance with the statement in the *Yoginī Tantra* which describes the Āhom country as octagonal (Gait., *op. cit.*, p. 27, Siṃha, *op. cit.*). This is the only coin of Gaurinātha Siṃha collected by the Museum.

C
O
I
N

No. 1



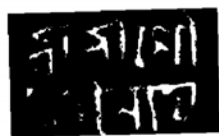
Obverse



Reverse

C
O
I
N

No. 2



Obverse



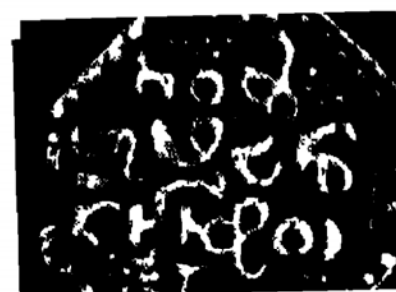
Reverse

C
O
I
N

No. 3



Obverse



Reverse

Sanskrit, Bengali script, undated.

<i>Obv. legend:</i>	(1) Śrī Śrī Gau	<i>Rev. legend:</i>	(1) Siṃha
Dotted lines in sides	(2) rīnātha	within a dotted	(2) nṛ pasya
no. 2, 3, 4		circle	

W. 1.37 gm.

Presented by Sri N. C. Chowdhury of Jalpaiguri.

3. Coin of Śuneñphā (A.D. 1744-1751) alias Pramatha Siṃha

By 1530 the Āhom came into prominence under the leadership of Suhumuñ, and in 1543 the first Āhom coin was issued by Śukleimuñ, the son of Suhumuñ. The legends on Śuleimuñ's coins were in the Āhom language and character. The progress of the Āhoms towards Hinduism is, however, reflected in the Sanskrit inscriptions (in Assamese-Bengali characters) on the coins of Jayadhvaja Siṃha and Cakradhvaja Siṃha. The next few rulers possibly reverted to Āhom only. But from the time of Rudra Siṃha (1696-1714) who introduced an annual issue from 1696 A.D. (1618 Śaka), specimens of coinage in Bengali or Assamese scripts are known for nearly each year until the end of the Āhom rule in 1821 (1743 Śaka) [Botham, *op. cit.*, p. 447].

Even then also, the old association of coinage with king's accession was maintained at any rate in case of certain kings (*viz.*, Pramatha Siṃha and Rājeśvar Siṃha), by the issue of coins in the old Āhom character in the first year of the reign (Botham, *op. cit.*, Allan J., *Numis. chro.*, Fourth Series, Vol. IX). Some describe these coins as medals for ceremonial distributions (Gait., *op. cit.*, p. 242). But these coins are extremely rare. The present coin of Śuneñphā alias Pramatha Siṃha is an example of this variety.

The language is almost extinct. For the translation and transliteration of the Āhom language and script we mainly depend upon the authority of Babu Golap Chandra Barua (*vide* his account of the Āhom coins published in *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, 1895).

A. octagonal, dated "Kātkēo" (or 1744 A.D.).

<i>Obv. legend:</i>	(1) Chāo Śu	<i>Rev. legend:</i>	(1) Kāo bay
with dotted lines on	(2) neñ phā pin	with dotted lines	(2) Phā leñḍa
all sides.	(3) Khun lākni	on all sides.	(3) n hēn chu
	(4) Kātkēo		

Dragon to 1. below. Five dots at sides 1, 2, 5 and 8. The Fourth side is partially damaged.

W. 11.44 gm.

Found near the ruins of the Baidal Raj Palace by Sri Rajanikanta Sarkar of Kaliaganj and Collected by Principal Bijay Krishna Chakravarty of Tarangapur Basic Training College, West Dinajpur.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

(Communicated in July, 1968)

SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA

Names of a large number of tribes are to be found in the Vedas and the classical Sanskrit literature. There is no doubt that many of these tribes lost their separate cultures and tribal designations and became absorbed in the general Hindu population of this country. But it is also true that even in our modern times there are many aboriginal tribes in the inaccessible hilly regions of India who have retained still something of their old cultures and traditions. Our Government have listed about 314 of them as Scheduled Tribes.

Some of these modern tribal names remarkably agree with the names of some of those ancient Indian tribes. Thus, we had Bhilla in ancient India, and we have the Bhil and Bhilala in modern times; we had Savara in those days, while Sabar and Sora are now familiar tribal names in Orissa and its neighbourhood; we had Andhra in olden times, and a scheduled tribe called Andh is now available in Andhra and Maharashtra. Similarly, we had Ābhīras in ancient India, while there is a tribe called Ahir in modern times; we had Gurjara in those days and there is a tribe named Gujar now; and so on.

The pairs of tribal names given above are of course phonetically connected. But apart from that, it is not possible for us to compare such pairs of tribes and be satisfied that they are also ethnically cognates. Our knowledge of the ancient Indian tribes is too inadequate for this purpose. The natural over-all change in them due to contact and miscegenation is also there to confuse the situation.

Even then, when two such tribal names, one ancient and the other modern, seem to be phonetically cognates, and when the geographical location of the two groups agree, or in lieu of that when the two tribes agree in some other significant points, we may treat them as tentatively identified. And the identification will be considered as satisfactory if no contrary evidence can be put forth.

Keeping these few criteria in our mind we shall try to identify some more tribes in the present communication. The following ancient tribes will be taken up for this purpose:

Pani, Bharata, Kikāṣa, Kuru, Mālava, Kṣudraka, Moriya, Kālām and a few others.

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